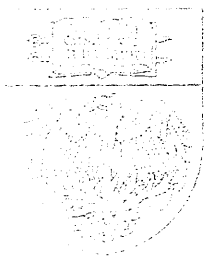


PROTESTANTISM
AND THE
LATIN SOUL

RO. CAPOZZI

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PROTESTANTISM AND THE LATIN SOUL

BY

F. C. CAPOZZI

RECTOR OF SAINT MARY'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
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FOREWORD

IN these days, when in the United States the Protestant evangelization of the Latin peoples of South America is being so much spoken of, it will not be entirely preposterous to consider the whole question of Protestantism in its relation to the Latin soul.

A study of the causes of the actual failure of Protestantism to reach the Latin soul may furnish us with a criterion by which to judge similar attempts in the future and, at the same time, help us toward the right attitude to take in the face of the issues confronting the Church's missionary movements, in both the foreign and the domestic field.

These few notes are written from a pre-eminently Italian standpoint, for Italy, both psychologically and historically, may be considered the most typical of Latin countries.

A further aim of the book is to acquaint the American public with the progress of religious thought in Italy. It is rather frequent to meet students who, while sufficiently instructed about the various religious movements in England, France and Germany, know nothing concerning the spiritual forces which have been at work in Italy these last fifty years. It is hoped therefore that we will fill, at least in part, a wide gap.

Finally, touching the problem of Christian Unity (in

Foreword

which rightly a great many among the religious leaders all over the world have today come to see the only hope of salvation for civil as well as religious society), we have maintained that a previous self-reformation on the part of the Roman Catholic Church is a *conditio sine qua non* of the reunion of the Christendom. And since the great edifice of Christian Unity can be built only on a basis wherein order and liberty would be reconciled to each other, we have pointed to Anglicanism as realizing, imperfectly indeed, the principle which might eventually bring about the equilibrium between the objective reality of Christian truth and the subjective exigencies of Christian souls.

F. C. C.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.	9
<p>Modern anti-papal tradition in Italy. Pietro Gian- none. Christian character of the champions of the "Risorgimento." Mazzini on the Papacy. D'Azeglio. Cavour. Niccolini. Giusti. Belli. Rossetti. Fer- retti. Garibaldi. Lambruschini. Ricasoli. Mamiani. Rosmini and Gioberti. Gattini. De Boni. Father Gav- azzi. Father Passaglia. Monsignor Liverani. Mon- signor Perfetti. Settembrini. De Sanctis. Bonghi. Erolo Ricotti, the historian of the Reformation.</p>	
CHAPTER II.	43
<p>Contemporary interpreters of the religious problem in Italy and opponents of Roman Catholicism. G. Guerzoni. Senator G. Negri. Senator P. Villari. Prof. R. Mariano. Prof. A. Chiappelli. Prof. B. Labanca. Hon. L. Caetani. Senator A. Mosso. Modernism and Modernists. Christian Democrats and their program. Don R. Murri. Senator A. Fogazzaro and "Il Santo."</p>	
CHAPTER III.	107
<p>Consonance of Protestantism with the German soul. Conformity of Oriental, Greek, Roman and Mohammedan religious systems to the natural dis- positions and manners of the peoples who elaborated them.</p> <p>Difference between Latin and Greek Christianity, determined by the unlikeness of psychological and ethical traditions of the Latin and Greek peoples.</p> <p>Protestantism: a genuine conception of the Ger- man race. Characteristics of Protestantism: psycho- logic, religious and moral structure of the German people.</p> <p>The religio-moral character of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, as revealed in their literature and Church- life. Characteristics of the Anglican reformation.</p>	

Contents

CHAPTER IV.	127
<p>Variance between Protestantism and the Latin spirit. Complex nature of the French soul. The interior structure of the Spanish and Italian races. Pre-eminently artistic temperament of Italians. Latin sentiment of beauty was one of the determining factors of the exaltation of Mary the Virgin in the Roman Catholic Church. The invocation of the Saints answers a spiritual tendency of the Latins.</p> <p>Unreligious character of Italians shown in their civilization, literature, art, and music. Italian unconcernedness with religion evidenced by the writings of modern historians and by the lack of religious activity in the nation. Causes of Italian spiritual lethargy.</p> <p>Italian unreligious character witnessed by the attitude of modern sociologists and philosophers and also by the present world-war.</p> <p>Italians, besides being spiritually deficient, are lacking a strong moral character.</p>	
CHAPTER V.	169
<p>Protestantism and Latin psychology. Religion for the Latin is, above all, "sentiment." Protestant worship cannot appeal to a Latin. The worship of the Virgin Mary sprang from the depths of the Latin soul. Irreconcilability of Protestantism and the Latin soul. The Latin is either Catholic, indifferent, or atheistic.</p>	
CHAPTER VI.	181
<p>The realization of the deficiency of Protestantism on the part of modern Italian writers. Aversion of the Modernists to Protestantism and reason therefor. Counter charges of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. The Modernistic ideal is essentially Catholic.</p>	
CHAPTER VII.	203
<p>The reformation of Roman Catholicism. Helplessness of Protestantism to reform Roman Catholicism. The reformation of Roman Catholicism cannot be but by self-reform. Papal claims disproved by</p>	

Contents

modern scholarship. Indestructibility of the Papacy. The lower clergy, armed with the weapons of biblical, historical and theological culture, will be the agents of Roman reformation. Democratic issues hanging on the world-war. History, life, and conscience are more tremendous forces than the massive fact of the Papacy.

CHAPTER VIII. 213

Anglicanism and its opportunity. Essential catholicity and comprehensiveness of Anglicanism. Imperfections of Anglicanism are being greatly exaggerated. It possesses a fundamental unity of faith. In spite of its nationalism, it has not failed to sanctify the life of the English nation. The glory of the presence of God shines upon it.

If Anglicanism wishes to exert a reforming influence on the Roman Church, it must hold fast to its own Catholic heritage. A defense of the episcopal-catholic principle. Anglicanism needs to awaken its Catholic conscience. Likely effects of such an awakening both in England and the United States. The effects of an Anglo-catholic awakening in its relation to the Roman Catholic clergy and Christian unity.

APPENDIX. Note I (p. 233): "The Waldensian Church." Note II (p. 234): An excerpt from Niccolini's tragical poem, "Arnaldo da Brescia." Note III (p. 235): "Giusti's satirical poem, "Il Creatore e il Suo Mondo." Note IV (p. 236): on "Anglican Ordinations." Note V (p. 246): "The Attitude of Modern Italian Thought Toward Christian Dogma."

BIBLIOGRAPHY 263-270



CHAPTER I.

MODERN ANTI-PAPAL TRADITION IN ITALY.

PERHAPS in no other country could we find an anti-papal tradition so ancient, strong and uninterrupted as in Italy. In fact, early during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Arnaldo da Brescia and Cecco d'Ascoli, Dante Alighieri and Francesco Petrarca denounced the Papacy with such a violence as to make one hear beforehand the protest of the reformers of the sixteenth century. At the same time the Italian Cattari, the Patarini, the followers of Fra Dolcino, Gioachino da Flora, the "Fratricelli" or "Spiritual Franciscans" and other heretics and mystics sought to restore the Church ideal of the primitive age.¹

The great ascetics and saints also of that time, such as Saint Peter Damiani, Saint Francis of Assisi, Iacopone da Todi and Saint Catharine of Siena protested, in different ways, against the corruption of the Church and earnestly endeavored to bring it back to evangelical virtue.

Then followed Fra Girolamo Savonarola, the prophet sent by God, who denounced with fiery passion the papal paganism of his generation and opposed it with the ideal of an apostolic Christianity.

Even during the triumph of the worldly and sceptical Humanism there came out of Italy strong attacks on the papal Church, as, for instance, that of Lorenzo Valla. The two greatest artists of the Renaissance, Leonardo

¹Appendix—Note 1, page 233: On "the Waldensians."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

da Vinci and Michelangelo cherished fondly the idea of a reform of Roman Catholicism. And so Giangiorgio Trissino, Francesco Berni and other literati of the sixteenth century sympathized more or less strongly with the new religious ideas.

But the real nature and meaning of this strong anti-papal tradition, during the pre-Reformation period, is mostly misunderstood by the Protestant historians. They usually mistake for "Protestant" what is only "anti-papal." In history and life Italian they see nothing but Protestantism. To them Dante, Saint Francis and Michelangelo were pure and genuine Protestants. They unhesitatingly place Savonarola beside Luther, Jerome of Prague, John Huss and Wycliff.

Yet, as a matter of fact, there are to be found no traces of real Protestantism in Italy, during the pre-Reformation period, for the medieval Italian mystics did not conceive a Christian Church independent of papal authority, nor did they disavow Catholic dogmatics. Their war was waged against the temporal power, the abuses and corruption of the Papacy, rather than against its spiritual power. Likewise the thinkers, literati and artists from Dante to Michelangelo, strongly advocated a reform of the Church "with" the pope, not "against" the pope. They assaulted not the religious, but the political Papacy, considering it as the cause of the decay and ruin of Italy. The only one who openly pleaded for a religious reform "against" the pope was Marsilio da Padova. He stands among the Italians as the great exception.

Even the attitude of Italy during the great revolution of the sixteenth century is misrepresented by the foreign historians. Many of them, for instance, the English

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Maccrie,¹ fall into the serious exaggeration of representing Italy as entirely won to the Protestant cause.

The truth is that the part played by Italy in the great Protestant movement, although by no means negligible nor lacking in interest, was exceedingly limited. The number of those who followed the impulse received from the German Lutheran revolution and associated themselves with it was very small. Bernardo Ochino, Pietro Martire, Aonio Paleario, Fausto Soccini, Pietro Carnesecchi, Pietro Paolo Vergerio were mostly captains without armies.

Others, as the good Cardinal Sadoletto, probably the Cardinals Contarini and Seripando, and in general those fifty or sixty illustrious persons who, under Clement VII, gathered in Rome and formed the "Oratory of divine love," where pious souls who, though longing for a reform of ecclesiastical discipline and not opposed to a certain understanding with the reformers, yet kept themselves entirely within the pale of the Catholic Church and intended, by all means, to save its orders and doctrines.

There were, besides, a great many others who endorsed the doctrine of justification by faith, as maintained by the Protestants, yet without proclaiming the rebellion against the pope and much less touching delicate dogmatic matters. Among them were Cardinal Morone, Madame Giulia Gonzaga, Madame Vittoria Colonna, Marco Antonio Flaminio, probably Giovanni Valdes and the anonymous author of the valued booklet, *"The Benefice of the Death of Jesus Christ."*

(The Italian reformer of the sixteenth century, as a whole, accepted only certain Lutheran doctrines with

¹"History of the Reformation in Italy."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

certain reservations, without thinking of a defection from the Roman Church. Although strongly attracted by certain features of the Protestant ideal, yet they did not, nor could they remove themselves from the powerful influence of such facts as the organic unity of the Church, the traditional veneration of Italians and all Latin peoples for the Papacy as being the supreme custodian of the keys, the beneficial influence of the Roman See on law, art, and civilization, and the undeniable greatness of some of the popes.

Thus it is safe to say that Protestantism failed, during the sixteenth century, to win the Italian soul. There were in Italy individual, partial endeavors on the part of some cultured and meditative minds; but the common conscience of the people did not catch fire. The history of the few real Italian Protestants is a sad, heart-rending story of disappointments, desertions, isolations and tragic ends.

Even in France itself, Protestantism, in spite of its fierce struggles, failed to achieve victory. The fact that Henry IV, in the year 1594, had to become a Catholic, in order to enter Paris, tells us clearly that the majority of the French were untouched by Calvinism.

It is out of our purpose to deal with the causes of the Protestant failure in the Latin world. Doubtless the Italian moral and social ambient of the sixteenth century, characterized by the deep scepticism and paganism of the Renaissance, made Italy a ground ill suited for the seeds of the Reformation. The foreign origin of Protestantism also and the exaggerations by which its dogmatic theology was marked concurred to hinder its acceptance by the Italians. Beside the ethnic influences, the nationalistic sentiment and material interests played

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

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It is also beyond doubt that in France the political question embarrassed the religious movement, and that the objective defects of Calvinism impeded its progress.

Yet the most profound causes which prevented Protestantism from reaching the Latin peoples are to be found not in their political and social conditions, but rather in their psychological, ethical and esthetic tendencies. In a subsequent chapter we will endeavor to show that this psychological element, more than anything else, is what prevents, even today, the Latin peoples from approaching Protestantism.

Laying aside the Reformation period, let us consider Protestantism in its relation to the history and life of the Latin peoples (more particularly the Italian) during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The modern anti-papal tradition in Italy may be said to date from Pietro Giannone (1676-1748), the illustrious historian and jurist of Apulia, regarded as the coupling link between Bruno and Mazzini. Professor Baldassarre Labanca, of the University of Rome, considers Giannone as the greatest adversary of the temporal power and the political influence of the Papacy, beside Dante and Macchiavelli.¹ Indeed no criticism of the papal system was ever sharper than that which Giannone made in his monumental "*Storia civile del Regno di Napoli*" and in his most original "*Il triregno*." On account of his ideas he was excommunicated by the Church and repeatedly condemned to exile, imprisonment, and torture. His convictions, however, were stronger than the bodily punishments to which ecclesiastical authori-

¹"Il Papato"—Roma-Fratelli Bocca, 1905.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

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The anti-papal tradition inherited from Bruno and Giannone, grew stronger and wider in Italy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The great characters of the Italian "Risorgimento," such as Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, D'Azeglio, Niccolini, Guerrazzi, Giusti, Ricasoli, Lambruschini, Rosmini, Gioberti, Bertini, Minghetti, Bianchi Giovini, Aristide Gabelli and others, aspired to a purification of religion and of the Church, inasmuch as these were opposed to their political and social ideal. They opposed to the temporal supremacy of the Church the principle of her separation from the state, strongly advocated religious freedom, and worked very hard at the education and moral elevation of people, who remained in ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism.

It is true that not all of those Italian liberals were Christians in the orthodox sense of the word. Yet there is no doubt that a great many of them drew their highest ideals from the Bible and showed the power of Christ in their lives. The Jesuits and Ultramontanes usually point to the Italian patriots of the nineteenth century as being infidel and anti-Christian men. On the contrary, we know that they were mostly believers and also good Christians, who realized that there were doctrines, precepts and practices in the Church of the pope not inspired by, but on the contrary, contradicting the solemn maxims of the Christian faith. Consequently they wished

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

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The condemnation of the Papacy does not come from us, but from God. The Papacy must perish, because it has falsified its own mission. It has killed faith through a materialism far more abject and fatal than that of the eighteenth century. The Papacy has pretended to crush the liberty of the world; but it will itself be crushed by men. Yes, the Papacy is destined to perish, for it has hindered the mission with which God entrusted humanity. The time will come when humanity shall raise itself upon its ruin.

Still stronger is the charge which Mazzini urges against the Papacy in the first volume of his "*Philosophical Studies*:"

The Papacy, he says, is extinguished, irrevocably extinguished, through the fault of the popes themselves. All mankind has proclaimed itself emancipated from it, and no one shall ever call it back to its former slavery. Humanity has told the popes: "You have become degenerate, you have disowned the teachings of the Gospel; you have

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

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Protestantism and the Latin Soul

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Protestantism and the Latin Soul

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Protestantism and the Latin Soul

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Protestantism and the Latin Soul

destroyed that pact which alone formed your early power; herein is your condemnation. What have you done of that holy word 'Love each other as brothers,' the very word which contained the future of the world? What of that promise of emancipation to the people, which only insured the triumph of Christianity over the pagan materialism? What of that spirit of charity, of mercy, and pardon which breathed in the words and deeds of the early believers? You have forgotten your origin, deviated from the moral rules laid upon you, sacrificed the purpose of Christianity to the thirst of power, the avidity of riches, and an universal empire. The Gospel suggested to you love and universal brotherhood; but you have sown discord, inspired hatred, kindled wars between the sons of the same fatherland; you have committed fornication with the civil tyranny of all countries, changed the cross, symbol of sacrifice and salvation, into a sign of dominion and ruin. The Gospel spoke of the equality of men before God: but you have consecrated the inequality, by raising around yourselves a religious aristocracy and establishing a hierarchy absurd, hostile, and tyrannical to believers. The Gospel opened a road to the perfection of the individual: but you have closed it; you have condemned or prostituted intelligence, enchained the spirit, arrested progress by a canon of immobility in contradiction to the laws of the universe; you have corrupted or prohibited popular education, pronounced books dangerous, persecuted the minds, made genius sterile, given to the flames Arnaldo, Cecco d'Ascoli, Sav-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

onarola, Bruno, and left Galileo to the condemnation of the friars.

"The Gospel prescribed to you humility, poverty, purity of morals; but you grow haughty in wealth and pomp; you have for seventy years in Avignon set an example of corruption to which history can oppose no equal; you have made your court a house of prostitution, of licentiousness and incest; you have carried scandal in triumph, given countries as feuds to your children. For about half a century you exhibited to the world the spectacle of three heads to the Church, fighting each other by insult, plot, and excommunication.

"You should have purified man, raised and spiritualized him more and more; but you have made of worship a materialism, of moral conception a sensuality, of religion a superstition. You should have welcomed and taken people out of misery; on the contrary you have exhausted them and taken away from them their very flesh and blood, through exactions, and the traffic of indulgences. You should have used tolerance; on the contrary you have made human blood run in rivers, created the Inquisition, raised gibbets and stakes, applauded the Eve of St. Bartholomew. You have disowned liberty, the first-born creature of God. You have prayed for and with the Turk against the Greek cross, cursed the Poles, and called the Teuton into Italy. Therefore (humanity says to the popes) I reject your name, your symbol, your authority. Your mission, o popes, is over; make way for the people who advance to take your place."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Mazzini (1805-1872), the fearless patriot and republican agitator, gave to Italy a faith and a conscience. The mystical and idealistic spirit that was in him, rather than the practical man he was, proclaimed the union of political and religious principles. Mazzini's creed, "God and the people," besides testifying to his strong and sincere religious faith, shows that he based the national cause on the groundwork of religion. In his exalted vision Rome, having been purged of the papal contamination and become truly "Catholic," would initiate the third stage in the life of Europe and inaugurate "moral unity and fraternity in a faith common to all humanity."

Mazzini is taxed with having often been mistaken in his judgment of men, the means and time of action; yet, in spite of all, he was truly the "titanic dream," as he himself says of Dante, "of an Italy, the angel of light among the nations." (He is to be recognized as the prophet and teacher of the democratic principle in Italy: a man, belonging to the noble band of those who, like Rousseau, Lamennais and Lincoln believed in the power that is within men rather than in that which is exercised over them. When one thinks of his dauntless faith in God and man, of his ideals of justice, liberty and fraternization, of all he suffered for his faith, he will agree with George Herron that Mazzini is "more nearly akin to Christ than any other modern historical character."

Mazzini headed the Roman Republic of 1848, concerning which the "Monitore Romano" expressed the sentiment of Italian people in the following passage: "The Republic arose in Rome by universal suffrage; rose on the ruins of the throne of the popes, which the cry

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

of all Europe, the curses of all civilized nations and the spirit of the Gospel had crumbled into dust. Today, when on that throne, marked with infamy by civilization, flows the blood of innumerable victims, who will ever dare to raise it again?"

* * * * *

The hatred of Mazzini for the Papacy was shared by Massimo D'Azeglio (1798-1866), a statesman and romance writer, who took a leading part in the political developments of Italy during the first half of the nineteenth century. His policy was to counter the republican propaganda of the Mazzinist group and advocate the monarchical cause of Charles Albert of Piedmont. In 1846 he published his famous "Degli ultimi casi di Romagna" in which he bitterly attacked the Papacy as a secular state, and strenuously urged upon the Italian princes the necessity of combining in a national policy. After the election of Pope Pius IX he went to Rome: and to his influence are to a certain extent due the reforms which marked the early government of Pius IX. In 1850 he introduced into the kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia the so-called "Siccardi Laws," which abolished the "ecclesiasticum forum" and adopted other strong measures obnoxious to the Church. In virtue of the Siccardi Laws the State subordinated completely the Church to its interests.

* * * * *

Not less important was the part played in the struggle against Rome by Camillo Cavour (1810-1861), the great statesman whose genius brought about the political consolidation of Italy, amidst strong internal commotions and foreign complications. Cavour realized that antagonism between religion and civil liberty was fatal

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

to the progress of the country and strongly pleaded for the harmonization of those two great forces, by clearly defining their respective fields of action. The ideal relations between the ecclesiastical and civil society he expressed in his famous formula, "*Libera Chiesa in Libero Stato*" ("a free Church in a free State").

After having, through his support of the Siccardi Laws, vindicated the sovereignty of the State in civil affairs, Cavour turned his mind to the Church's estate, which was quite excessive and disproportionate to its needs and obligations. His suggestion of a reform of the Church's income having been met with a resolute refusal on the part of Rome, Cavour, supported by the Chamber and the public opinion, suppressed the religious foundations, except the bishoprics and such corporations as were devoted to preaching and educative and charitable work (1855).

Cavour was a moderate liberal; he repeatedly opposed the excessive pretensions of the radicals who aimed at doing to the Church all the harm they could: and probably he would never have concerned himself with the affairs of the Church but for the encroachments of the papal power over civil matters and the manifold abuses springing from its immense wealth.

Convinced as he was that not only the interests of Italy but those of the Church as well required that the Papacy should be friendly to the monarchy and walk in harmony with it, he tried very hard to persuade the Papacy to surrender the temporal power and thus agitate the completion of Italian unity. In return he was ready to make ample concessions to the Church. But the Papacy, obstinately persisting in its theocratic ideal, refused to come to an understanding.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

The last words of Cavour: "Italy is made, all is safe," characterize his whole great and noble life.

* * * * *

Among those who exposed with great violence the degeneracy of Rome should be mentioned Gian Battista Niccolini (1782-1861), one of the most illustrious writers of Italy. In the modern Italian literature there are no charges against Rome stronger than those which Niccolini makes in his great tragical poem "Arnaldo da Brescia." To him Rome is a prostitute, a monster defiled with the blood of the saints, a woman who fornicated with all the kings of the earth, and has lost in the mire the white robes of purity and sanctity.¹

In writing of the change of Pope Pius IX who first gave his blessing to the struggling Italy and then revoked it, Niccolini exclaimed: "Oh stupid folly to rely on a pope for freedom and independence! . . ."

When Pius IX, during the uprising of Rome (1848), escaped in the disguise of a priest and fled to Gaeta, in the Neapolitan territory, Niccolini remarked:

He ran away, hoping that Rome would fall into anarchy and so excite the indignation of Europe, speculating, in so doing, on the calamities to which he exposed his people. And this man you call God on earth, the vicegerent of Christ! . . .
Away, away with you, impious blasphemer. He ran away and threw himself into the arms of Ferdinand of Naples, an assassin stained with the blood of his own subjects.

Niccolini continues in the same tone:

Believe me, if you want to introduce reformation

¹Appendix—Page 234: "Excerpt from Niccolini's "Arnaldo da Brescia."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

into Italy you ought first to persuade Italians that the religion of the Gospel has nothing to do with the religion of the priests. The priests have turned the warm-hearted Italians almost into a nation of atheists. What wonder. . . . Can you not conceive it? Have they not made religion the cause of all our miseries? Do we not owe to the ambition of the popes the decay of our glory and the loss of our independence? Have they not corrupted and turned to their own account the most sacred teachings of the Gospel? The sign of our redemption, has it not been changed into the ax of the executioner? And are you surprised that the ardent and superficially informed youth of Italy, identifying the religion of Christ with that of the pope, should become atheists? Let us then sweep away the priests and their corrupted religion; let us throw down the last fragment of the old house and then we shall be able to build a new one.

Commenting on the recall, by Pius IX, of the troops which he had been compelled to send for the deliverance of Italy, Niccolini says:

Perhaps God, in his infinite wisdom, prevented Italy from being liberated at the hands of the pope, in order that the Papacy, that abhorred institution, might ultimately be swept from the face of the earth without leaving behind it a single regret.

* * * * *

While Niccolini is so fiery and wrathful against Rome, Giuseppe Giusti (1809-1850), the Tuscan poet, employs all the resources of his satirical vein to ridicule Roman

Protestantism and the Latin Soul.

Catholicism. None among the writers of the nineteenth century used more successfully laughter as a means to bring scorn and contempt upon the Church of the pope. In his admirable satire "*Il Creatore e il Suo Mondo*"¹ he represents God and Saint Peter looking down on Rome. Peter, greatly surprised, asks God who is that man whom he beholds in the Vatican amidst such great luxury and pomp. To whom God, in an ironical tone, replies: "O Peter, Peter, that is your great successor." Then Peter asks: "Where is that primitive simplicity, where that poverty which I experienced? how changed everything is!" Finally, after having conversed on the papal launching of anathemas, selling of indulgences, greed and various other abuses, God remarks: "What is still worse, all this is done in my name, whereas I do not know anything about it."

A spirit in many respects kindred to that of Giusti was possessed by Gioacchino Belli (1791-1863), the Roman vernacular poet. His "*Political Sonnets*" are full of the most mordant satire on the abuses of the papal government under Gregory XVI.

In one of his sonnets he represents a pope blessing, at Easter, the people from the balcony of St. Peter's. As he looked down upon the countless faithful thronging the vast square, he turned to a cardinal, by his side, and said: "How do all these people live?" "The one humbugs the other," the cardinal answered. "And we humbug them all" (*E noi li bugiamo tutti*), said the Pope, raising his hands to bless them: "In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

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¹Appendix—page 235, Note III: Giusti's poem, "*Il Creatore e il Suo Mondo*."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Also Gabriele Rossetti (1783-1854) was one of those who combined in their heart the love for Italian political independence and the hatred for the spiritual tyranny under which Italians were groaning. Very few poets are so greatly inspired as he is in his patriotic and evangelical songs. Italy owes to him a great part of her Christian hymnology. He was exiled because of his political views and died in London. Says of him Professor Giovanni Luzzi:

Rossetti obtained his ideal from the Gospel. The great poet, driven from his country for political reasons, through God's providence found Christ and the Gospel in the land of his exile. For twenty years he gave most careful attention to spiritual problems. The Bible became his favorite book. Through the letter of the New Testament he found the living person of Christ; and Christ became his supporter in time of distress, his light in the time of his blindness, his comfort in the supreme crisis of his last hour.¹

An intimate friend of Rossetti, in his exile, was Salvatore Ferretti (1817-1874), who made in London an active propaganda on behalf of the Italian Evangelical Mission, in the same city, and edited the greatest part of its literary productions. He was the soul of the strenuous monthly "*Eco di Savonarola*," which was published from the year 1847 to 1860, and wrote also several hymns, which are among the most beautiful of Italian Evangelical Hymnology.

* * * * *

Going on we find Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882),

¹"The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy," 1913, Fleming H. Revell Co.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

the great soldier and patriot, who became the paladin of Italy's crusade for freedom and the idol of Italians, hated the Papacy with all his heart and did not hesitate to add his strong note of denunciation to the great Italian choir. Thus he speaks:

The Papacy, aided by the Jesuits, is the most horrible plague with which my country is afflicted. Eighteen centuries of falsehood, persecution and burning at the stake, in complicity with all the tyrants of Italy, have rendered the plague incurable. At present the vampire of the land of the Scipios supports its body, which is corrupted and eaten up by gangrene.

The great patriot was often heard speaking of the Papacy as being "the cancer of Italy."

Garibaldi hated the priests from the bottom of his heart, for he considered them as the chief obstacle to Italy's happiness. Speaking of his dear island home, Caprera, he said: "One of the special blessings of this place is the absence of priests . . . and if this Italy does not occupy the place it ought, it is on account of that black race of priests, a worse plague than the cholera morbus."¹

The supreme aim of Garibaldi's political and military activity was to overthrow the temporal power of the popes and unite Rome with Italy. In 1857 he adhered to the "National Society" launched by Cavour and the Sicilian historian, Giuseppe La Farina; the slogan of which was "Independence and Unity," with the corollary, "Out with Austrians and the Pope."

¹Yet Garibaldi found some priests with their hearts open to the great ideals of life. He considered Ugo Bassi one of his dearest friends and called him his "white dove."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

In 1862, while in Marsala, Garibaldi led the people to the cathedral to swear, upon the altar, the memorable "Rome or Death!"

In 1867, when Bettino Ricasoli, eager to come to a "modus vivendi" with the Vatican, presented a scheme which meant an abandonment of the State's control over the Church and a concession of ample liberties to the same, Garibaldi was foremost among those who strongly charged him with a compromise with "the fatal sect of priests" and compelled him to resign.

In the same year, in spite of France's protecting the papal states, the daring captain strongly protested his resolution to go to Rome "in spite of priests and Bonaparte."

Garibaldi's great dream was realized three years later, when an Italian army, under the leadership of General Cadorna, broke through "Porta Pia" and overthrew forever the temporal power, that very power which the popes had so wickedly abused throughout the centuries.

Garibaldi is usually presented by the Jesuits and the apologists of papalism as an unreligious man. But, as matter of fact, he was a sincere Christian who often declared that he "preferred the religion of Christ, not the religion of the pope and the cardinals, the enemies of Italy."

* * * * *

Among the Italian teachers and writers of the nineteenth century a prominent place was held by Raffaele Lambruschini (1788-1873). He was a Roman Catholic priest, with a deep intellectual as well as spiritual education, and of very liberal views. His extraordinary political, literary and educational activity (which produced such great pedagogical monuments as "Libri della educa-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

zione" and "Dialoghi sulla istruzione") did not prevent him from thinking seriously of religion and realizing the urgent need of a reform of Roman Catholicism. We are indebted to Senator Marco Tabarrini for the publication of "Pensieri di un Solitario" (Thoughts of a Solitary), Lambruschini's posthumous work, in which he gave expression to his ideas about religion and papal Catholicism.

He describes the Church of his days thus:

The Church is no longer loved as a mother; she is hated as a cruel stepmother; and it is certain that on account of her errors, her ignorance and her passions she shall fall as the Synagogue fell.

Elsewhere he adds:

We cannot go on this way. We must break the chains, cast off the yoke of a bondage harder than that of the Jews. We must go back to the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. We must lay hold of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Galatians and rebuild our religious life on it.

* * * * *

Closely associated with the name of Lambruschini is that of the Baron Bettino Ricasoli (1809-1880), a Florentine statesman and a prominent advocate of Italian unity. In the year 1847 Ricasoli, together with Lambruschini, addressed a "memorial" to the Government of Tuscany, in which he remarked:

The genuine sentiment of religion today is instilled no longer; rites and feasts have been multiplied for pecuniary interests, the veneration of faith and the practice of evangelical virtues are

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

quite neglected. The sincerity of religion has been replaced by hypocrisy and indifference.

Then, after having asked himself if the Roman hierarchy would ever remedy the evil, he emphatically answered no.

No, he said, because the cardinals are incorrigible; and the government of the priests is among all governments the one which less profits by experience.

Not less explicitly Ricasoli expressed his mind with regard to the temporal power of the popes.

The temporal power is a denial of liberty, a principle which is one of the greatest foundations laid by divine wisdom as the condition of the development of human forces.

The great politician was still more violent in denouncing the religious tyranny of the papal Church. When, in 1851, Count Pietro Guicciardini was arrested for having been found reading the Bible, Ricasoli wrote indignantly:

To trample upon the most sacred of the principles, that of liberty, granted to the religious conscience of man is the most brutal and anti-Christian act that a government might commit.¹

* * * * *

Not less advanced were the religious ideas of Count Terenzio Mamiani (1799-1885), the illustrious philosophical writer. Although he had been educated in Rome by the Jesuits, yet he was afterwards proscribed for having participated in the liberal movement of 1831. The keynote of Mamiani's religious, political and social works

¹Ricasoli: "Letters and Papers," Florence, 1886-1889.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

was the harmonization of religion with political freedom and modern progress. He foretold the fall of the temporal power of the popes.¹

* * * * *

It was positively pathetic to see the pope, Pius IX, under the Jesuitic solicitations, condemning Antonio Rosmini and Vincenzo Gioberti, Italian philosophers who loved the Church equally with the fatherland. They belonged to the school of liberal Catholicism of Döllinger, Günther, Hermes, Mochler, Hirscher, Froschammer, Balytzer, Lamennais, Gerbert, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Tommaseo, Audisio, Curci and other illustrious Italian and foreign writers who, because of their lack of sympathy for Ultramontanism were condemned by the Church or even compelled to separate from her. Both Gioberti and Rosmini desired a reform "with" the pope, in order to bring about a reconciliation of Catholicism with the modern civilization and science.

Gioberti (1801-1852) rightly held as the oracle of the Neo-Guelfs, had always acted as a loyal Catholic, and even in his philosophical and political writings had never failed in devotion toward the Papacy. In the year 1843, during his exile in Belgium, he issued his *Del Primato Morale degli Italiani*, an exposition of the Papacy as the divinely appointed agency for the regeneration of Italy. Gioberti held that the unity and independence which Italy demanded were attainable through a confederation of the Italian States under the pope's presidency. In his "La Riforma Cattolica" he wrote: "Hitherto people

¹Among the philosophico-religious works of Mamiani excel: "La Rinascenza Cattolica," 1862; "Teorica della Religione e dello Stato," 1868; "La Religione dell'avvenire," 1879; "Critica della Rivelazione," 1880; "Del Papato negli Ultimi Secoli," 1885.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

have wished to reform Rome without Rome, nay, in spite of Rome; now they ought to reform Rome through Rome." The books which, besides "*La Riforma Cattolica*" compromised Gioberti most were "*Filosofia della Rivelazione*" and "*Il Gesuita Moderno*," the latter being a strong denunciation of the unsympathetic policy by which the Jesuitic Order is ruled. Indeed the outlook of Gioberti was too conservative and out of harmony with the age of Mazzini.

As to the pious Rosmini (1797-1855) he was never left in peace under Pius IX, for the reasons that his sincere spirit of Christianity had compelled him to bare the wounds infecting the body of the papal Catholicism. The Curialists hated the illustrious thinker to such an extent that the Secretary of State, Antonelli, declared him a Jansenist and a plague in the Church. The hatred of the zealous Jesuits for him did not cease even with his death. For, by means of scholastic subtleties they discovered in his writings forty heretical propositions, which were accordingly condemned by Pope Leo XIII. Such condemnation is, in the life of Leo XIII, a page akin to that of the denial of Anglican Orders.

* * * * *

Among the strongest denunciations of the Papacy ever heard in Italy was the speech by the illustrious member of Parliament, Gattini, delivered in the fateful 1870. He remarked:

Civilization asks what share the Papacy has taken in its work. Is it the press? is it electricity? is it steam? is it chemical analysis? is it free trade? is it self-government? is it the principle of nationality? is it the proclamation of the rights of man? of the liberty of conscience? Of all this

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

the Papacy is the very negation. Its culminating points are Gregory I who, like Omar, burnt libraries; Gregory VII, who destroyed a moiety of Rome and created the temporal power; Innocent III, who founded the Inquisition; Boniface IX, who destroyed the last remains of municipal liberty in Rome; Pius VII, who did the same in Bologna; Alexander VI, who established the censorship of the books; Paul III, who published the Bull for the establishment of the Jesuits; Pius V, who covered Europe with burning funeral pyres; Urban VIII, who tortured Galileo, and Pius IX, who has given us the modern Syllabus.

Another among the bitterest opponents of the Roman Church, during the second half of the last century was De Boni, who, led by the consideration of the corruption and abuses of the Church, attacked religion itself. In his eloquent "*La Chiesa Romana e l'Italia* (Milano, 1863), he declared that "the Roman Church has brought miseries on Italy enough to make the stones cry out." In the same book, speaking of the spiritual chain fettering the soul of Italy, he uttered the famous expression: "Our soul is still prisoner in the Vatican."

In his work, "*L'Inquisizione*," he warned liberal Italians thus:

We must adapt our armies to the character and strength of the enemy. The Church has confiscated Italy in the name of God, chaining our country to her own altars; and we shall not be able to break either the chains of the country or our own without overturning those altars, which are based on the cupidity of a caste and the ignorance of the people. The Church of Rome is an im-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

moral rebellion, pitching her tent in Italy in the name of God; and it is impossible to escape the dilemma: Italy or the Church must perish.

* * * * *

Rosmini and Lambruschini were not the only ecclesiastics who advocated a Catholicism more liberal and in harmony with the political needs of Italy. There were other clergymen who championed the independence and unity of Italy and preached, at the same time, a return to the pure precepts of the Gospel. Among such, for instance, was Father Alessandro Gavazzi (1809-1889), the heroic Barnabite monk, who welcomed so warmly the liberal movement of 1848. He followed Garibaldi in his campaigns of Sicily, Tyrol and Mentana, ministering with apostolic zeal to the religious needs of the soldiers.

When the papal troops which had been ordered to help the Italian cause were called back by Pius IX, Father Gavazzi, instead of returning with them, broke with the pope and set himself to preach a crusade against him. Later on he visited England, Scotland, the United States and Canada, lecturing against the papal Church.

His fearless proclamation of the truth drew upon him the hate of the Jesuits; he was persecuted, imprisoned, mistreated; yet he continued to preach and to argue thus:

Macchiavelli said: We Italians are indebted to the Roman Church and the priests for having become unreligious and wicked. What is to be done? To become good and religious. And how is that to be attained? Either it is true that with the Papacy we have succeeded in losing religion or not. If not, then all our greatest men, Dante, Petrarca, Savonarola, Macchiavelli and Guicci-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ardini were mistaken and we ourselves are mistaken and misled by the positive facts which we see about us, provided we do not wish to mistake bigotry, hypocrisy and superstition for religion. If then it is true, we ought to be consistent with ourselves and remove the cause of irreligion. Italians! It is necessary to become again Christians in Italy; but the Papacy alone was that which made us unchristian; therefore the Papacy must be swept out from Italy in order that Christianity may reappear there.¹

In 1870 Father Gavazzi laid the foundations of the "Free Church in Italy," which, in 1891, by a royal decree, was given the title "Italian Evangelical Church." Florence is the headquarters of this sect, which, in 1901, numbered about thirty congregations, fifteen ministers and 2000 communicants.²

The cause of a united Italy was advocated also by Father Carlo Passaglia (1812-1887), a Jesuit theologian who, in brilliant pamphlets, and especially in his "*Pro Causa Italica ad Episcopos Italianos*" boldly attacked the temporal power of the popes, declaring it unnecessary, and insisted on the need of a reform of the Church, through a return to the primitive discipline.

Among the most advanced of the ecclesiastical reformers during the last century, one should not fail to mention Liverani and Perfetti, both of whom were members of the Curia. Monsignor Francesco Liverani, a

¹*Il Papato e l'Italia.* Conferenze Firenze, 1861.

²Among the writings of Father Gavazzi the following are remarkable: "*Recollections of the Last Four Popes*," London, 1859; "*Il Papato e l'Italia*," 1861; "*No Union With Rome*," 1871; "*La Favola del Viaggio di S. Pietro a Roma*," 1869.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

man highly esteemed in the Vatican, supported Passaglia in his war against the temporal power and denounced the papal court. After the publication of his sensational book, "*Il Papato, l'Impero e il Regno d'Italia*" he was deprived of his dignities and obliged to retire into private life.

Monsignor Perfetti, formerly secretary of Cardinal Marini, declared:

Papal Rome is a more abnormal fact, and, by consequence, a more impious fact than Islam. . . . The Rome of the pope will fall today or tomorrow: the sooner the better. . . . The people have not been able to see what a jewel the Gospel is, because it was set in a metal too base, the same indeed as that of which their chains were made.¹

* * * * *

Even in Southern Italy, where provinces were most oppressed by the despotic and corrupt ecclesiasticism, there rose a noble legion of thinkers, writers and patriots, as De Sanctis, Spaventa, Settembrini, Comforti, Amari, De Meis, Amabile, who continued the tradition of liberalism inherited from Bruno, Telesio and Campanella; while Savarese, Pisanelli, Mancini and others continued the juridical school of Giannone, upholding the rights of the Lay-State.

The religious sentiments of all these writers and patriots are reflected by those of Luigi Settembrini (1813-1876), the bold author of "*Protesta dei Popoli delle Due Sicilie*," published in 1847. In the year 1864 he

¹"*Delle Nuove Condizioni del Papato*," Firenze, 1862.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

wrote to Stanislao Bianciardi (the Tuscan editor of the anti-papal "L'Esaminatore") thus:

National conscience is the goal to be kept in view: error must be extirpated from it and truth implanted in it. Rome, the great enemy, the first cause of all the evils of Italy, does not lie on the Tiber, she lies here, in our consciences, and here we must fight her. . . . How I wish that all our papers would understand that there is a more serious question than the political one with which to cope, namely the religious question, which ought never to be lost sight of.

Pasquale Villari says of Settembrini:

His old hatred of priests and the Papacy had become his ruling passion and it seemed to rise to the boiling point when he saw some of his dearest friends stooping to compromise for political ends and almost playing the part of neoguelphs.²

Also Francesco De Sanctis, the most original critic that Italy has ever produced, was one of the truest awakeners and deliverers of the national spirit, a vigorous apostle of free thought and political liberty. It is famous—his assault on the Jesuit Father Bresciani, the author of "The Jew of Verona," a romance written for the purpose of slandering the Italian revolutionary movement.

How is it (he said to the Jesuit) that the same religion we all find so admirable in Manzoni's work only makes us yawn when you speak of it?

¹Quoted from Luzzi's "The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy," Revell, 1913.

²"Studies Historical and Critical," translated by Linda Villari, 1907, Scribner.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Because in your book it is not seen to be a genuine sentiment and a living faith, but to be solely inspired by party spirit.

A great enemy of the papal Catholicism was also Ruggiero Bonghi (1826-1886) an illustrious scholar and politician, author of several books, among which the famous "Vita di Gesu Cristo" (1890: Roma); "Leone XIII e l'Italia": 1878; "Arnaldo da Brescia"; 1884, etc. Bonghi expressed repeatedly his admiration for the Protestant peoples of North Europe, ascribing their vigorous religious life to their love of the Bible. On the contrary he strongly disliked and opposed Roman Catholicism. While Minister of Public Instruction he set to reform the Italian educational system, subtracting it entirely from clerical influence, and prevented the establishment of a Catholic University in Rome.

"Clericalism, (Bonghi said) is the negation of God, the abasement of all the ideals which the human conscience has conceived in God. It is the clerical, it is this wicked one whom we must fight and hunt out from the civil society."¹

Curiously enough, the man who spoke thus was, at one time, considered as the only clerical member in the Italian Parliament. Evidently his clericalism was not dissociated from intelligence and the love of truth. When Bonghi was accused of having, at a banquet given in honor of Zola in Rome, used words offensive to the Virgin Mary, he replied: "I offend the Madonna, the dearest, sweetest, purest, holiest idea of womanhood that the human mind has ever conceived. . . . No.

¹Lemmi, in his circular letter of October 20, 1890, echoed Bonghi. After having denounced the Papacy as the "cancer of Italy," he added: "Clericalism is the only party for which hatred is holy."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

But those offend her who make merchandise of her, who pretend to spread her worship while they are only seeking selfish gains, and who even do not fear to clothe in a pagan garment the dearest Christian image. Oh, how happy that day would be to me in which the Catholic nations would throw off those beliefs that degrade them in the eyes of Protestants, and in which the priests would cease to darken the minds of the people with ludicrous superstitions."

* * * * *

It is interesting to find that Signor Francesco Crispi also considered Roman Catholicism spiritually deficient. Once, in the Parliament, he made a strong attack upon the Church of Rome and uttered those fateful words: "The day is coming when Christianity will kill Roman Catholicism." Thus the great statesman made it plain that he distinguished between Roman Catholicism and Christianity. As all the prominent statesmen of Italy Crispi fully realized the political character of Roman Catholicism, which, ever since the year 1870 has been conspiring against the national unity of Italy. "To be a sincere Catholic," he wrote in the "Nuova Rivista" for May, 1892, "and a friend of Italy is, to the Italians, a contradiction." Speaking of the deleterious effects of the political activity of Roman Catholicism upon the national life as well as the Church herself, Crispi pointed to the possibility of an Italian National Church. "The Church of Rome," he said, "will cease to be universal if she continues to confound religion with politics. The people, disturbed in their consciences, will feel their need of a National Church, in whose bosom Patriotism and God can agree."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Crispi, even as most Italian patriots, is presented by the Jesuits as an irreligious man. But he was not such. On his death-bed, speaking of himself and his friend, Signor Paratore, he remarked to his daughter, the Princess of Linguaglossa: "We are not opposed to religion. We are anti-Catholic, anti-clerical. Our religion is He" (pointing to a Crucifix, hanging by his bed-side).

* * * * *

Another great name in the annals of the Italian opposition to Roman Catholicism is Signor Giuseppe Zanardelli, premier of Italy. In one of his addresses to his constituents at Brescia he stigmatized the hostile attitude of the papal Church toward the Bible. He remarked that while, after the invention of printing, every press in Europe was busy printing the Bible, the pope's press at Subiaco did not put forth a single verse of Scripture. The remark was followed by this warning: "Woe to the Roman Catholic Church when my countrymen get hold of the Old and New Testaments! . . . Then they will know the difference between Jesus Christ and His so-called Vicar."

Zanardelli did not confine his opposition to Roman Catholicism to words, but took also strong practical measures against it. Realizing the fact that the Church was employing her spiritual powers for political aims Zanardelli promulgated, in January, 1890, the famous "New Penal Code," which threatens severe punishments to those priests who abuse their office. Clause 174 runs thus: "A priest, who, abusing the moral power derived from his office, incites to the setting aside of the institutions and laws of the State; or in any other way to the neglect of duties due to the country, or inherent in a public office; or who damages legitimate private interests,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

and disturbs the peace of families, renders himself liable to fine, imprisonment, and temporary or perpetual suspension from office, or from the endowments of his office."

* * * * *

The hostile attitude of Zanardelli and Crispi to Roman Catholicism was shared also by the Hon. Giovanni Bovio, a member of the House of Deputies and one of the most famous Italian jurists during the second half of the nineteenth century. He considered the papal Church "a branch that is withering on the tree of Christianity," and is impotent to redeem the peoples for the reason that it is "outside of Christ."

Again, in contrasting Roman Catholicism and Christianity, he says: "Christianity may yet have a revival among the people, but Catholicism is hopelessly stagnant."

* * * * *

We will close this chapter by expounding the mind of Ercole Ricotti, the prominent ecclesiastical historian, author of "*Della Rivoluzione Protestante*" (The Protestant Revolution)²—a book remarkable for wealth of knowledge and objectivity of judgment. Here and there Ricotti makes it plain that he did not fail to realize the historical faults and intrinsic deficiencies of papal Catholicism.

Dealing with the causes which prevented Rome from making any considerable progress over Protestantism, after the peace of Westphalia, Ricotti says:

Many of the Tridentine decrees became a dead letter: the minds of the believers were again intoxicated with miracles, relics, indulgences, cere-

¹In the "*Cultura*," 5-12 of November, 1894.

²Torino, 1894, Loescher.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

monies void of inward edification; clergy fell again into the former scandals, ignorance and grossness; religious orders degenerated. Thus a good chance was offered to the incredulity of the eighteenth century (p. 546).

In regard to the effects of the Council of Trent, Ricotti makes a wonderfully true remark:

The government of the Church (he says) conformed itself more and more to an absolute monarchy; so much so, that for three centuries afterwards there was no Council convoked to moderate it. This, if from one hand, conferred unity and vigor to the command, from the other was hurtful by taking away from the obedience the stimulus which springs from a spontaneous persuasion. It proved also harmful by depriving the supreme authority of that wide perspective which results from beholding around itself, by means of frequent general councils, all the needs, reclamations and defects of each part of the Church. Such increase of spiritual authority was obtained by the popes to the detriment of the authority of the bishops, which was diminished, not only through the Tridentine decisions, but much more through the following neglect of the practice of consulting them in the fundamental form of the councils. Thus the scattered and isolated voices of the bishops were oppressed by the victorious absolutism of the Roman see. (p. 472.)

Speaking of the decline of the Jesuits, Ricotti states that:

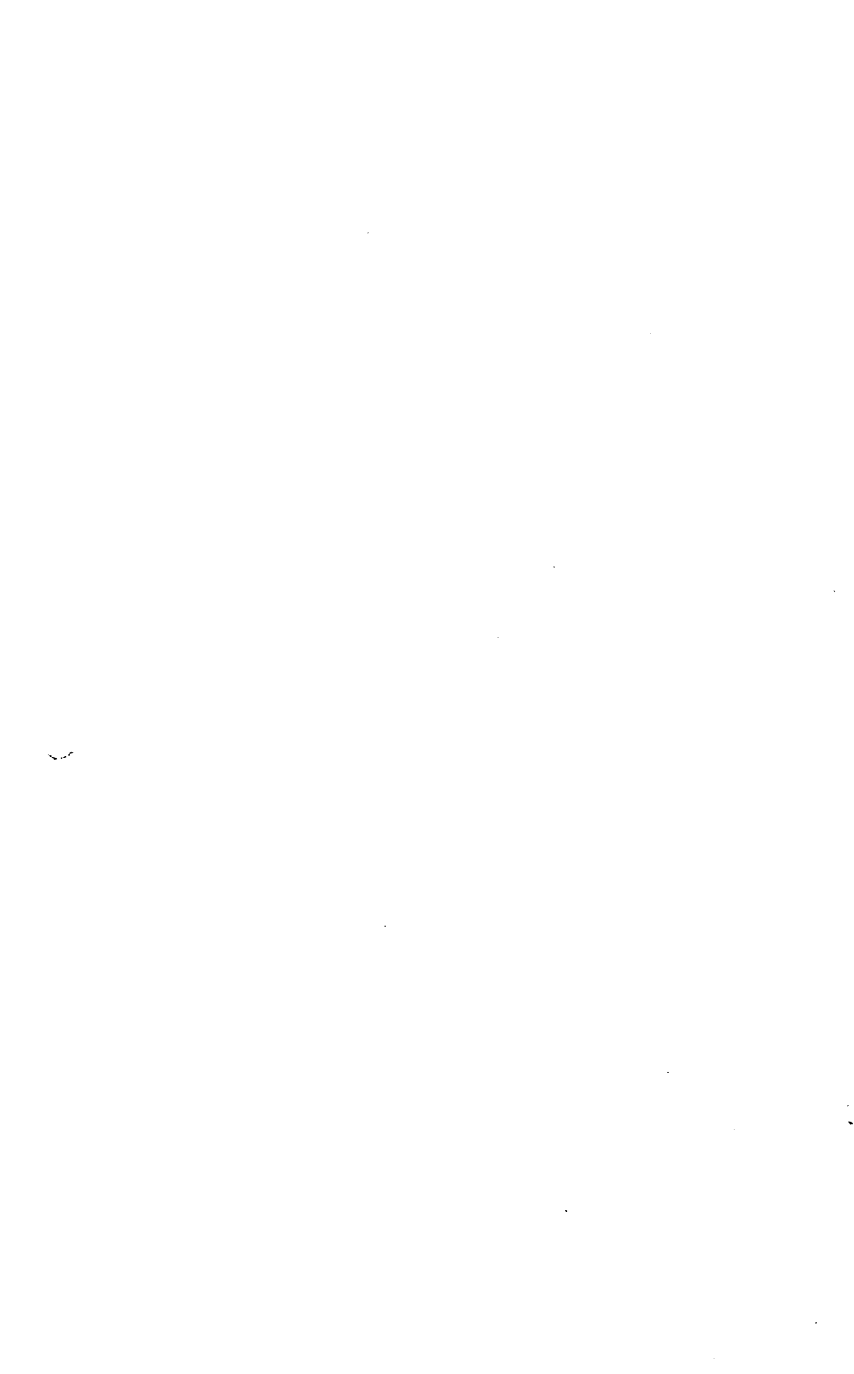
The Jesuits have proved harmful to the Catho-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

lic defense, by employing therein a system of religious and civil morality which does not entirely conform to the Gospel. They have relied on imagination and sense rather than reason and heart. Instead of drawing the strength which flows directly from the Gospel, they have only preferred far reflections of it and have made use of the doubtful authority of modern theologians and miracles, fortified by half mystic and half pagan worship, external apparels of chants, music and ornaments as well as by superstitious practices. (p. 557.)

Ricotti has been also well aware of the papal opposition to the spirit of modern times, for elsewhere he observes:

Yet Rome has paid no attention to the great change of the times, and has been affording a more and more striking contrast with the principles of European civilization. She has engaged herself in a sad struggle against progress, which freely proceeds without her: and, after having opposed the liberty of the princes, has opposed also that of the peoples, the fundamental demands of whom she has refused. Finally she has declared her own authority not only immovable and absolute, but also indissolubly united to a transitory, human and material element, the temporal power. (552.)



CHAPTER II.

CONTEMPORARY INTERPRETERS OF THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM IN ITALY.

IN more recent times the realization of the degeneration of papal Catholicism has grown wider and wider in Italy, as an examination of the writings of Guerzoni, Negri, Marselli, Villari, Mariano, Chiappelli, Labanca, Leone Caetani, Fogazzaro and the Modernists will show us clearly.

Guiseppe Guerzoni, one of the leading modern historians of Italy, is strongly opposed to the Catholic or international ideal of Rome. In his historical essay, "Arnaldo da Brescia," he looks for the salvation of religious society in the application to it of the modern principle of nationality, which broke the religio-political unity of Middle Ages and brought about the new conscience of nationality. Guerzoni would like to substitute for the theocratic monarchy of Gregory VII and the Sacred Roman Empire of Charlemagne national churches, and expresses the hope that the fall of the temporal power of the popes may be the way and instrument of such a religious revolution.

The concentrating organism of Catholicism, he says, having been broken, together with the temporal scepter of the popes, nations shall be led to seek in the religious society the same liberty which has triumphed in the civil. They, perhaps, shall not change their faith, but only temper it again at the pure primitive sources. Yet, as the re-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ligious movement of German Old Catholics points, they shall proclaim the authority of their churches and substitute for the dissolved Catholic unity a pact of alliance between the various Christian societies.

Among the Italian writers who have studied Christianity should be mentioned also Senator Gaetano Negri,¹ author of several books on the subject, although, unfortunately, he does not always show himself religiously unprejudiced. Even in his novels and literary essays Negri is deeply concerned with the religious and spiritual elements.

Like a good many other Italian writers, he sees in Roman Catholicism a false and sterile form of Christianity. In his scholarly essay "George Eliot"² after having dwelt on the spectacle of ecclesiastical rivalries between the official Church and the dissenters in England (a spectacle which, according to him, witnesses the

¹Gaetano Negri (1832-1902), a thinker, patriot and soldier, was one of the most interesting Italian figures of the second half of the nineteenth century. He is author of several books, among which: "L'imperatore Giuliano l'apostata" (Milano, 1911); "Il cristianesimo nella storia"; "Ultimi saggi" (Milano, Hoepli, 1904); "George Eliot" (Treves, Milano, 1893); "Rumori mondani" (Milano, Hoepli, 1894); "Segni dei tempi" (Hoepli, Milano, 1903). Unfortunately, Senator Negri does not always show himself free from anti-religious prejudices. The first of the cited books, more especially, though a very valuable historical study on the Emperor Julian the apostate, yet is lacking in historical impartiality. It seems as if the deliberate purpose of the book is to exalt beyond measure the virtues of the crowned apostate, in order that discredit and vituperation may be reflected upon Christianity and the Church.

²Milano, Treves, 1893.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

steady practice of religion and living Christian sentiment among the Protestant peoples) Negri remarks:

In Catholic countries this neither does nor can happen. We are accustomed to the dilemma, either the pope or none, either the Apostolic Roman Church or nothing; either the unreasonable and blind homage or the absolute incredulity. This fact has caused religious sentiment in the Catholic countries to be suffocated. The churches, more than elsewhere, are populated with indifferent men, who enter therein by habit, not conviction. The dogmatic rigorousness of Catholicism dries, at its very spring, the religious spontaneity of the spirit, and makes out of the Catholic countries the classic land of scepticism and absolute negation.

Then, in the analysis of "Adam Bede" Negri makes a beautiful comparison between the Christianity of the Protestant Dinah and that of the Catholic Cardinal Federigo, in the "I promessi sposi" of Manzoni, and concludes thus:

The evangelical concept, in its most genuine essence, is supremely democratic. It is a concept which had and still has a great efficacy, for the very fact that it has sprung genuine and pure from the conscience of human unhappiness. To have made out of such evangelical concept the basis of an ecclesiastical institution, with all the attributes of worldliness, complicated and powerful in its external organs and its hierarchy, is certainly the most wonderful proof of the capacity of the human mind to deceive itself. In Roman Catholicism

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

there exists no longer even the shade of evangelical thought and sentiment. The papal institution is, in the conclusion, the very negation of the thought of Him Who is pretended to have founded it.

In his "Ultimi Saggi", dealing with various literary, political and social problems, Negri denounces once more papal Catholicism. In the fifth essay: "Religion and morals in the teaching," he proceeds to show the excellence of Protestantism over Catholicism as a factor of religious and moral education.

It is evident, he says, that religious teaching must be imparted in such wise that while, on one hand, it adapts itself to certain intellectual conditions, on the other it does not make further progress impossible. The whole difficulty consists in finding the manner to impart an authoritative moral teaching without injuring in its germ the autonomous sentiment of conscience and thought. In this respect Protestants are in a far better condition than Catholics; for the Reformation having removed the intermediaries whom Catholicism places between man and Divinity, and given individual conscience the direct responsibility of the interpretation of divine will, raised the sentiment of moral autonomy and opened before man a field of action if not unbounded (for it is limited by the barriers of anthropomorphic deism), at least sufficiently broad to satisfy the exigencies of modern thought.

On the contrary Catholicism, with all its ex-

¹Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, 1904.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ternal and hierarchical baggage, extinguishes in man the sentiment of the responsibility of conscience and accustoms him to repose inert upon the dictates of a superior infallible authority and upon the concept that external practices are a price by which one gains impunity, pardon and the favor of Divinity. This is par excellence the pharisaic spirit, against which Jesus shot the arrows of His incomparable irony. This predominant tendency proves truly fatal both to the individual and to society; it dries, at its very source, moral inspiration. It is this tendency which, even today, manifests itself in the pilgrimages, the claimed miracles, the abuse of ceremonies, and that bigoted, intolerant and insolent attitude which characterizes the clerical party in its most pronounced and genuine form (pp. 216, 217).

In the same essay Negri stigmatizes the retrogressive character of papal Catholicism:

The church, he writes, has stopped at her medieval point of view and has not been able to emerge from the ambient of ancient theocracy; accordingly she speaks and acts in the name of principles which are no longer ours and which, if accepted, would compel humanity to retrace all its steps (p. 194).

Like other modern religious writers of Italy, Negri has faced the question of a renewal of papal Catholicism, showing himself quite skeptical with regard to its possibility. Commenting on the religious thesis presented in Zola's novel, "Paris," he writes:

The conversation between the young, reforming

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

priest, Froment, and the old pope expresses with efficacy the antinomy of two convictions equally sincere, the conviction which exacts the renewal of Catholicism, and the conviction which affirms such renewal impossible. In fact it is evident that Catholicism cannot live and adapt itself to civilization, unless it admits in practice what it refuses and condemns in theory. Catholicism is either a theocracy or nothing at all. Now then, theocracy leads back to the Middle Ages, to the intellectual and political supremacy, whereas modern society proceeds through a way leading to a diametrically opposed goal. We therefore easily understand the fact that there are Catholics of good faith and enthusiasts who desire the renewal of Catholicism. But the truth is that Catholicism is not renewable, for renewing it would mean to injure the essential principle of its existence and to destroy it. Men of the highest genius and great souls have more than once attempted to bring into Catholicism a principle of renewal, but in vain. Rosmini and Döllinger have striven, to their own hurt, against the irremovableness of the papal "non possumus." Now a disinterested observer must acknowledge that the "non possumus" of Catholicism is truly justified by the nature itself of the institution which personifies it. In fact the whole force of Catholicism is in its immobility and in the absolute rigor of a constitution which subtracts intelligence from the disquietude of liberty and gives it the peace of certainty. If Catholicism would only begin to oscillate on its own foundations, it could stand

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

no longer on its position and would lose all attraction for those who turn to it, in order to find therein a safe harbor to their troubled and frightened consciences."¹

In his essay "Religion and morals in the teaching," Negri, dealing with the difficulties confronting the problem of religious education in Italian schools, because of the antagonism between the Church and the State, makes very interesting remarks. He premises that, 1: Religious sentiment is an indispensable element of the human spirit. 2: This sentiment, because of the cultural conditions of most men, cannot do without a concrete form. 3: The Catholic form, in all the rigor of its authoritative principle, is not in accord with the critical and scientific spirit of our time. 4: The creation of a new form is impossible, for all the cultured men, from whom the initiative should start, feel the inanity of form, whatever it may be, and, consequently, do not know from whence to draw the necessary energy for the great enterprise." Then he adds:

The only way to avoid a catastrophe, is to come to a "modus vivendi," tacitly admitted both by the Church and the State, by which the State should never antagonize the Church (rather it should lend her all that protection and support which is consistent with the fundamental principles of modern society): and the Church, on her part, should make up her mind to acknowledge "de facto" that condition of things which she so loudly refuses and abhors in theory.

Had our political revolution taken place in the

¹"Ultimi Saggi," p. 159.

²"Ultimi Saggi," p. 227.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

sixteenth century, it would have certainly generated an Italian Luther, and between Italy and the Roman Church would have raged a war which most likely would have ended in the reformation of the Church. But, in our days, the advent of a Luther would leave us entirely indifferent. If we look deep down in our soul and in that of those who surround us, we find there a dose of skepticism sufficient to blunt the arrows of the most powerful and convinced reformer.

An open conciliation between the Church and the State is not possible, for it could not be brought about without an abdication of one or the other: and it is evident that the two fundamental principles of liberty and authority being at stake, such abdication would mean to the State, or to the Church, suicide. Whenever men have attempted a reconciliation, the instinct of self-preservation has prevented both parties from taking the fatal step. (p. 227.)

It seems therefore, Negri continues, that we have reached an insoluble difficulty; for, on the one hand, a dogmatic and hierarchical reform of Catholicism, analogous to that of the sixteenth century, is now unaccomplishable (because of the impossibility to circumscribe the reform within the limits of deism); and, moreover, the genuine tendency and spirit of Catholicism cannot be harmonized with the exigencies of modern thought. On the other hand, the moral teaching of the majority of the people is possible only through religion. Where then will Catholic people find a way out?

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

The difficulty is so great that some despair of the possibility of solving it. The solution, however, is perhaps less hard than we think. We might apply to the question of the teaching the methods and habits of common life. What do we see therein? We see that great many, nay, countless persons, believe and call themselves Catholic, yet they speak and act in such wise as to put themselves in a continuous contradiction to the indisputable precepts of the Church. Four-fifths of the Italians who hear Mass are excommunicated: yet none are concerned. This can happen because dogma and doctrine have lost a great part of their importance. They gradually have disappeared from the conscience of the individual, and the external form appears, by and by and almost inadvertently, what it really is, namely a mere symbol, giving concreteness to one of the most profound and spontaneous sentiments of the human soul. It is just such reform, brought about inadvertently,¹ and gradually, that ought to be favored and promoted, for it is only through it that a religious teaching, respecting the rights and duties of conscience, becomes effectively possible. The question here is not of a doctrinal and dogmatic reform, which would be, as we have

¹Renan also indicated an analogous manner, in which he thought the old Catholicism could still be able to evolve itself and progress. He did not think that the papal Church could ever be led to retract any religious matter; yet he deemed it possible that she could allow some antiquated teachings to fall tacitly into oblivion. "The Catholic Church," he wrote in one of his letters, "will never be able to confess that she changes, but she will be able to allow a good deal to lapse."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

repeatedly said, impossible and useless. Only this is intended: to let religion throw off, for itself, all its apparently scientific scoriæ; to lessen, as much as possible, the concrete, real and objective importance of rite; and to raise, in its stead, its symbolic character, freeing from the fetters of formalism its spirit, which alone can quicken it. At the same time all the endeavors of educators should be directed to create, through the perspective of the ideals of the human soul and the affirmation of the finality of life, the sentiment of the responsibility of individual conscience. (pp. 217, 218.)

Pavissich¹ and other papal sociologists maintain that the Roman Catholic Church holds the key for the solution of the social problem. But Negri did not think so. In the essay "Nerone e il Cristianesimo"² he shows the impossibility of a socialization of Roman Catholicism:

The program of a social Catholicism, he says, which would replace socialism, or, at least, make it useless and inefficacious, will never succeed in anything else but a rhetorical declamation or a political artifice. Catholicism can have no points of contact with the ideals of socialism, for, even as the other organisms constituted upon a hierarchical mechanism, it is interested in keeping, within the social structure, not only what is necessary and right, but also what is (or can be) excessive and iniquitous. Roman Catholicism cannot be led back to primitive Christianity, as

¹A. Pavissich, "La Questione Sociale," Treviso, Buffetti, 1902.

²G. Negri, "Ultimi Saggi," Hoepli, 1904.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

many ingenuous souls ardently desire, for the reason that it is a religion essentially different from the primitive type, a religion framed on Greek metaphysics and Roman government, a religion which imposed itself upon the world by way of an unconscious but necessary equivoke; for, without rigorousness of dogma and strength of administrative organization the Christian God (who answered, in truth, the determined needs of humanity) could not have withstood the subtlety of Greek thought and the furor of heresies and sects. Once the equivoke is discovered, Catholicism has no longer reason to exist. And since Catholicism cannot renounce living, it does not allow anything within and about itself to be touched, thus remaining unmovable and immutable.

* * * * *

Nicola Marselli, a prominent sociologist and writer of Southern Italy, sees in Roman Catholicism a force essentially antagonistic to scientific and social progress. In his deep essay "*Gli Italiani del Mezzogiorno*"¹ he sets himself to illustrate the religio-political harmony within the German and Anglo-Saxon States, a harmony which he ascribes to the Protestant religion. He says in part:

In Germany and England religious studies advance equally with the scientific ones, nay, science itself protects them. Theology there does not seem excessively distrustful of science which respects religion, and, accordingly, it strives to become scientific. In the practical life there

¹Roma, 1884, Casa Editrice Sommaruga.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

reigns the same harmony between a religion which does not disavow the state (not even when this assumes the free forms of England and America) and a state which profits by religion. To the mind of the politician such equilibrium in the circulation of the blood in the German and Anglo-Saxon societies appears as a fortunate condition of things to assure the normal development of the state. The reverse is the case with Latin peoples troubled, disordered, unbalanced by that Catholicism in which some have the blind audacity to see salvation, whereas the deep remark on it by Macchiavelli shall always hold good. Roman Catholic religion on the one side, science and nationalism on the other, are essentially divergent forces; wherefore religious recrudescences in Latin countries, for which religion is personified by the Catholic Church, cannot take place but with a detriment to scientific development and danger to free institutions.

* * * * *

Passing then to Senator Pasquale Villari, the great historian of the Florentine Republic, and of Macchiavelli and Savonarola, Raffaele Mariano rightly taxes him with not having attached to the religious problem in Italy a greater importance. Here and there, in his scholarly works, Villari asserts that there is neither religion nor faith in Italy, and that the religious sense is wholly absorbed by external worship and practice. He also says that religion with Italians, when it is not positive superstition, is traditional habit, not a living faith. All this does indirectly, yet clearly, express the thought of Villari concerning the spiritual inefficiency of Roman Catholicism. In all his historical works and essays he

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

makes it plain that his ideal of religion is different from that of Rome. Thus, for instance, in his admirable conference on Savonarola,¹ after having stated that the religious sense has steadily weakened among Italians, he says:

We require the sanctifying aid of religion, which alone is qualified to force the fervor of charity on all with the unquestionable authority that comes from above. But it must be a religion such as Savonarola sought to establish: one fitted to exercise a purifying influence on the country and helping to forward all social progress.

* * * * *

Among the contemporary interpreters of the religious problem in Italy Raffaele Mariano² is doubtless the

¹*"Studies Historical and Critical,"* Scribner's, 1907.

²Raffaele Mariano was born in Capua (Southern Italy) in 1840 and studied law in Naples; then went over to philosophy in the school of Augusto Vera, a zealous follower of Hegel. In 1885 he was made professor of Church History in the University of Naples, and died in Florence in the beginning of 1912. He has been the most sound and fecund Italian religious writer of the latter part of the nineteenth century. The religious problem in Italy filled and profoundly troubled his whole noble life. His activity as a teacher, lecturer and publicist has been simply prodigious. Fruits of his laborious studies on religious subjects are the following scholarly works: "Il Cristianesimo nei Primi Secoli," Firenze, Barbera, 1902; "Gli Evangeli Sinottici"; "Cristianesimo, Cattolicesimo e Civiltà"; "Il Problema Religioso in Italia"; "I Rapporti dello Stato con la Religione"; "Roma nel medioevo"; "La Libertà di Coscienza"; "Studi Critici sulla Filosofia della Religione"; "Papa, Clero e Politica Ecclesiastica in Italia"; "Su pel Campo della Religione, della Storia e della Chiesa"; "Il Ritorno delle Chiese Cristiane all'unità Cattolica."

Mariano has, besides, written several other books on social and political subjects. All his works have been published, in several volumes, by the editor, G. Barbera, of Firenze, under the title, "Scritti Varii."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

greatest. None among the Italians of our age has been so deeply concerned with the problems of the spirit as has he; none has had a clearer vision of the close relation of religious principles and doctrines to the redemption and moral regeneration of the people. Mariano is in great sympathy with Protestantism. In his several books he extols again and again the ethical, spiritual and social superiority of Protestantism over Roman Catholicism.

In his "*Il Ritorno delle Chiese Cristiane all'unita Cattolica*" (Firenze. Opere, Vol. VII) he speaks thus of the conditions of the world and Protestantism:

It is very strange to witness the facility and resoluteness of Leo XIII, in inviting Protestants to become again Catholic, claiming that the work of Luther, after only four centuries of existence, has suffered shipwreck and has shown itself as being something quite human.

But, as a matter of fact, if we look at the Protestant world, we find therein nothing which in truth points to it as decayed and exhausted. First of all, it is a world steadily increasing numerically and even in a greater proportion than the Catholic.¹

If we are to believe statistics, Protestant peoples increase and multiply more rapidly than the Catholic. If then we look at it as it actually is,

¹Prof. Giorgio Bartoli asserts that the evangelicals outnumber the Catholics by 18 millions. See "*Il Cristianesimo Primitivo e il Suo Sistema Scientifico*," Firenze, 1911. The Rev. Thomas Harding estimates the number of Roman Catholic Christians to be 216 millions, and the non-Roman Christians, 250 millions. See "*Catholic or Roman Catholic*," Milwaukee, Wisc., The Young Churchman Co., 1916.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

we realize that, in spite of its defects and imperfections, inherent to and inseparable from all that exists, it is a world marvelous for the exuberance of its ethical and spiritual forces. The Catholic world, in many respects, suffers by comparison. It is not the Catholic nations, but the evangelical that have taken, and still maintain, the supremacy in the course of history. Whether we are willing to admit it or not, it is a fact that all the prompting and directing ideas of modern culture come from the peoples of the Reformation; and the Catholic ones, almost drawn by those ideas, either submit themselves to them, or, at the most, appropriate to themselves their results (p. 437).

In the following chapter, dealing with the impossibility of a return of the evangelical Churches to Catholicism, Mariano returns to commend the spirit and power of Protestant religion.

It is natural, he writes, that the Protestant, having been obliged to rely, in the process of his reconciliation with God, upon his own forces, (upon the energy of his faith and will—supported, of course, by divine truth and grace), should end in differing substantially from the Catholic. We must admit the trepidations, remorses, doubts and painful anxieties to which is exposed a soul struggling to raise itself to God, to unite with Him, and to feel Him, living and speaking, in its own depths. Yet just in this lies the root of that strong spiritual life and that high consciousness of his value and moral power to which the Protestant rises, a consciousness to

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

which the Catholic hardly will ever attain. This is the reason why the interior vigor of Protestant peoples is stronger than that of the Catholic. This is what accounts also for the fact that Protestants excel Catholics not only in the field of religion and spirituality, but also in practical, social, and scientific activity.

Generally we do not seem to think that North America, the true New World, so youthfully bold and exuberant with life and force, is a product of evangelical conscience. Not all know how great the religion which gives warmth to the hearts of Americans is. Mostly we are unaware of the ethical authority which is at the disposal of the American Churches and the social efficacy which they exert.

Both private and public American life have their most profound foundations in religion. The same, more or less, applies also to England. Even of her marvelous power, which has enabled her to create an empire, over which truly the sun never sets, and to spread her influence even to the remotest parts of the earth, we may say that it is founded essentially upon a true, religious and Christian thought, and a strong adoration of God (p. 458).

Mariano has realized what the Papacy is in itself as well as in its relation to Italy more fully than any other Italian thinker.

In his *Il Cristianesimo nei Primi Secoli*,¹ after having proved that the Papacy could not have risen and lived without any communication of divine breath, he proceeds

¹G. Barbera, Firenze, 1902.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

to show that not all is divine within it, and that, on the contrary, it has finally become, to a great extent, just what it ought not to have become.

First of all, he says, it has assumed a quite temporal nature. It has not abhorred the greed which always follows worldliness. It has appropriated to itself all the cunning arts, the iniquitous tendencies and corrupt habits which are inseparable from politics, diplomacy, and from earthly interests, needs and appetites.

Gradually the Papacy has subjected to its despotic and terrible centralization the whole Church; and around itself, in the faithful laity as well as in the clergy, it has extinguished liberty of movement and thought. Thus the motto of Pius IX, "I am the Church," has at length been fully realized.

Again by the Vatican Council it has been proclaimed almighty, infallible, it has been almost divinized: and this in the very moment when the sentiment of the times and the religio-moral convictions of the intelligent and cultured Christian world were more repugnant to it.

Finally, what is still worse, the Papacy has entirely divested itself of the genuine and spiritual purpose of the Gospel. It has plunged into a muddy ocean of acts of worship and prayers, indulgences, penances, practices of devotion and belief in miracles which are unspiritual, mechanical, grossly superstitious and even grotesque. By its mode of understanding and worshipping the divine, it has caused and is still fomenting the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

most unspeakable degeneration of faith and devotion (p. 438-439).

Moreover, Mariano concerns himself with the papal Catholicism in its relation to Italy and lays the strongest charges at its door.

Nowadays, he says, there is in America, England, Germany, and in France itself, a remarkable revival of religious studies, activity of inward faith and operative Christian love. On the contrary, one may say that Italy has even lost the perception of the true spiritual and moral nature of Christianity and Church. The papal Catholics in Italy seem to reduce the life of the soul and the power of religion more or less to the external ceremonies and ecclesiastical functions, without ever realizing that both such things are founded upon a reality of a deeper spiritual nature. It seems that they never happen to ask themselves to what depths the Italian Church, its faith, its worship and morals have fallen (p. 444).

It seems that Mariano, whose mind is constantly preoccupied with the solution of the religious problem in Italy, absolutely cannot forgive Roman Catholicism for its deleterious influence upon the religious conscience of his people. In his "*L'individuo e lo Stato*"¹ he returns to the attack:

Under the secular burden of the irreligious and pagan papal Catholicism the Italian conscience has been dissolved into incredulity and idolatry. Certainly the form taken by Christianity under the action of the Papacy represented once a great

¹Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1886.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

and powerful organism, rich in life and efficient historical energy. But afterwards, exhausted of historical sense and true spiritual power, the Papacy has gradually become an immense and monstrous mechanism, which can neither excite nor satisfy the need of the inner life of the people. Wherever papal Catholicism penetrates and presses, there is inertia and impassibility of conscience. It suffocates it, for it takes away from it every genuinely spiritual inspiration and fervor (p. 262).

In the chapter: "Italians and Catholicism" he remarks:

We have a religion which is slavery for conscience and spirit; we have a clergy who insinuate themselves among the people, especially the working classes, not to uplift their minds and hearts, but to lower and darken, through superstition, ignorance and error; a clergy who from the pulpit and confessional, both by teaching and example, debase the sentiment and brutalize the character of our people (p. 266).

Yet again, after having proved that religion and faith are the salvation of a nation, Mariano remarks:

But religion also does send nations to perdition and it is the chief cause of decay and death for them, when shut in itself, grown rigid in ancient formulas and dogmatism, impervious to any new light of liberty and of truth, it inoculates within nations its maxims, its habits, its principles which are sterile, obsolete, opposed to the actual needs of society and contrary to the living spirit which rules history and leads the world. . . . It is then reasonable to argue that Italy, with the papal

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Catholicism, which means without true religion, will have neither science, nor philosophy, neither social nor economical progress (p. 296).

In the second Volume of the "*Il Cristianesimo nei Primi Secoli*," Mariano begins to assault the unity of supreme personal magistry, usually so much extolled by Roman apologists.

Ruggiero Bonghi, he says, liked to point to Catholic unity as though a great benefit; whereas such sepulchral, forced and violent unity, wherein one man has arrogated to himself the right to think and speak for all Christians, has been to us Italians a source of dullness, quietism, inward stagnation, abasement and corruption. It is true that not only in Italy, but everywhere, even in Protestant countries, the souls appear today distracted and alienated from religion. Yet we should not fail to realize that with the peoples of the Reformation, in England and Germany, along with the religious indifference and scepticism, move also lively spiritual currents and strong moral energies, which resist and contest the field with the negative and dissolving forces. It is not arbitrary to foresee that some day a new and sound awakening of religious faith shall take place in the bosom of those peoples, as well as a richer effusion of Christian spirit. In Italy there is no sign of fervent religious activity, of spiritual contrasts and struggles, just because of the iron unity of papal magistry. We have then the right to ask if it is really worth while keeping ourselves so close

¹Raffaele Mariano, *Scritti Vari*, Volume V.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

to such unity. Far more desirable would seem a little more of sincere faith, and a bit of genuinely Christian morality, together with a more living interest in religion and all that is connected therewith (p. 139).

It is further interesting to know what Mariano thinks of the future of the Papacy. We believe that, in dealing with this subject, none among Italians and few even among the foreigners, have shown a deeper insight or a more balanced faculty of judgment. Mariano keeps the middle ground between such as deem a liberal development of the Papacy absolutely impossible and such as see it close at hand. He is neither sceptical nor overconfident. Moreover, he does not entertain the illusion of a great many among the radical Protestants that there shall be no place for the Papacy in the Christianity of the future. It is worth while to reproduce Mariano's admirable paragraph:

Will the day ever come, he asks himself, when the Papacy shall acquire conscience of its own faults and sorrowfully change its course? As for myself, I believe that such a day has to come, soon or late. Nay, it seems to me that the dawn has already appeared. There is something changed in the life of the Church, or, at least, something that moves and begins to change. The fact that the pope and his church have been deprived of temporal power is a great historical achievement, destined in the future to exert in the Catholic world a deeper influence than we may actually measure. As a consequence of the loss of the temporal power the Papacy will realize that different historical and moral conditions

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

have been created around itself. Being thus placed in the midst of the struggle for life, it will be compelled to fight, in order to achieve its reason and right to exist. A struggle such as this implies a tension of spirit; which, in its turn, calls for forces and weapons spiritual. Today, unless equipped with liberty and the arguments of intellect and reason, one would try in vain to enter the battlefield of life. Indeed, no doubtful signs have already appeared that the papal clergy are gradually training themselves in the exercise of liberty, the use of rational and scientific methods, and forms of action suitable to the modern exigencies of intellectual, social, ethical and political life. It would therefore seem that if research, studies, criticism, liberty and reason will not be the poison that will kill the Papacy, they will, at least, be the energy which will lead it to correct itself. It is not to be presumed that all these things will not, at length, force it to re-enter the limits of discretion and reasonableness, consistent with the liberty of the Christian soul, and in accord with the essentially spiritual nature of Christianity. Wherefore nothing shall prevent papal Catholicism from throwing off the rags of vulgar beliefs, habits and forms of worship which debase it and make it unable to satisfy a seriously and highly felt religious need.

Moreover, the Papacy shall realize that the Church is not to be kept a slave, but to be roused, so that the Holy Spirit may freely run through it and move it and the Christian truth may grow within it and become a leaven of vigorous in-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

terior life, instead of being, as it is now, a rigid and sterile formula, mechanically enjoined from without. Then the great ecclesiastical assizes, the Ecumenical Councils, shall at last resume their natural place, as in the early centuries, and their value of supreme collective representation of the thought of the Church. And the pope, in his turn, shall cease to exert over the Church his suffocating terrorism, to return to his office as executor of the mind of the Church and unificator of its government. He would be then no longer the extinguisher of movement and life, but the hub and defense of spiritual tradition springing from universal conscience of the Church and expressing itself, throughout the ages, under the form of conciliar definitions. In this manner only the Papacy, harmonizing in itself liberty and authority, movement and order, could become again a great wholesome force in the Church; a force for the conservation and security of the historical Christian tradition and the profession of the Christian faith and, at the same time, a force of progress in the understanding and deepening of the truths of the same faith and in the spreading of their ethical and social efficacy in the world and in history.

These are forecasts over which it would be actually hazardous to rely too strongly. Yet they are not wanting in likelihood. In England, Germany, America, where peoples are endowed with a living religious sentiment and for whom religion is, to use Hegel's expression, "the greatest feast of life," and even in France, it is improbable

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

whether the Papacy and its Catholicism will last in their present condition. The Papacy has received a deep wound; it is now vacillating, and one cannot see how it could be ultimately able to avoid a radical change. As to Catholicism, such as it has shaped itself under the papal influence, it clashes too vitally with the fundamental intuitions of the modern world. That it may envelop itself more and more within its own system and hermetically seal itself therein, as a silkworm in its cocoon, is neither probable nor possible. In the course of its development Catholicism has pushed itself to the extreme limit,¹ and it has reached the most acute and insuperable point. And forasmuch as there is no way to go farther, it is necessary to go back; it is necessary that the Papacy and Catholicism surrender to the dictates of reason, more particularly to those of the spiritual truth of Christianity and the needs of the developed and mature Christian conscience. One would lose his faith in the divine providence; one would not believe any longer that God keeps His hand over the moral government of the world were he to suppose that such is but a dream. (P. 440 and fol.)

Mariano rejects the Papacy, in its actual form; yet his historical scholarship and sound judgment do not allow him to disavow the institutional elements of Christianity. He regards institutions as an essential element of the Christian system and looks to the episcopal principle as

¹Renan had expressed nearly the same opinion, by stating that: "The Papacy by its latest exaggerations has prepared for itself a destiny impossible to forecast." (Letter of March 15, 1872.)

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

to the one which incarnates more genuinely the mind of the Founder of the Christian Church.

Speaking of the method and criterion to be employed in the investigation of the elements which determined the constitution of the early Church, Mariano remarks:

We hear a great many affirming that the great simplicity of apostolic time did actuate the true Christian life, in which there was no need of development, and that the complex organization which took place afterwards was neither necessary nor legitimate.

Some others, on the contrary, pretend to demonstrate that the apostles themselves instituted everything, that is, not only the Episcopate, but even the Papacy, and almost the Roman Curia itself, which with all its greed and corruption, is but the caricature and satire of Christ and His apostles. Again, others deny that the Christian Church derived its organical institutions gradually, partly from the immanent nature of its scope and partly from the mutual equilibrium between the idealities of its spirit and the real and practical necessities of life. They endeavor to prove that it copied them from the administrative, economical, political and religious government of the pagan world, in the midst of which it matured its existence.

As long as we continue such reasoning, we shall not accomplish anything. The ancient organization of the Church is such as it was formed by the divine idea with which Christianity was inwardly animated as well as by the inclinations, tendencies and the indefectible and unalienable

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

needs of men, through which and by which the same organization was called to make itself effectual.

Then Mariano adds:

It is here, in the original elements of the apostolic age, that we find the criterion by which to judge to what extent the Church's institutions incarnate the thought of Christ and the essential principles of Christianity; or, on the contrary, how far they are the product of changing and transitory historical circumstances, and, as such, liable to transformation and even to dissolution. Thus, for instance, it is not an unimportant fact that the principle of episcopacy should have sprung from the very depths of Christian communities by a natural necessity of development, an active necessity which already manifested itself in the apostolic age; whereas the principle of the Papacy is a mere historical formation which was later and gradually imposed upon the Catholic Church, at the time when the Church, having met with the barbarians, had to meet new problems and face new destinies." (P. 251.)

Mariano further maintains that the episcopal is the most ideal system of Christianity, for there order and liberty, the historical basis of Christian faith and the movement of reason, the stability of tradition and the activity of the human soul—things that cannot be associated within the papal system—would become reconciled with each other. He expresses his strong faith in the power of the episcopal principle in the following terms:

The episcopal system, understood not as a theocratic ordinance, but as an organization and

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

as a form of the Church's government, is not something which has nowadays lost, as some seem to think, every legitimate reason for existence. To reconstitute within the conduct and the government of the Christian Church a collective representation, which, gathering the pious and believing sentiment of the faithful, as well as the enlightened and penetrative views of the cultured theologians, culminates in the Episcopate, might be the middle ground between the extreme and subversive Protestantism and the papal Catholicism, the latter made up of temporal interests and diplomatic craft and maintained by intolerance and abuse of power. Indeed, the episcopal and synodal constitution of the first centuries would not seem an unfit means to give back to the life of the Church that basis of firm and stable authority, capable of preventing the disorders and deviations of the single individual atoms, the defect of which is the weak and vulnerable point of Protestantism—its heel of Achilles—and its principle of unbounded liberty of examination. On the other hand, this kind of large representation of the Church, confided to the Episcopate, would promise to be an obstruction to the infallible and suffocating absolutism of the Papacy and its worldly ambitions, which are the great evil of the Catholicism of the actual Roman Curia, its cardinals and prelates. (P. 131.)

* * * * *

Among the contemporary Italian writers, who have dealt with Christianity, a remarkable place is held by

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Professor Alessandro Chiappelli,¹ author of several books on the subject. He seems to lean toward the radical school of Harnack. In his "*Cristianesimo Antico*," dealing with the historical development of the millennarian ideas among the early Christians, he maintains that the multiplications of beliefs and the rise of new religious forms, which Roman Catholic apologists point to as a clear sign of Protestant disintegration, are, on the contrary, an evidence of the self-renewal of the religious conscience of the peoples.

That contemporary growth of religious forms, he says, in England and America, rather than hinting a dying religious inspiration, seem the symptom of something that renews itself. The work of dogmatic demolition and political struggle against theocracy which has been proceeding

¹Senator Alessandro Chiappelli is a professor of the history of philosophy at the University of Naples and a specialist in religious matters. He has made interesting researches in subjects connected with the history of early Christianity, as, for instance, the Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Doctrine of Resurrection in the first centuries, the historical development of the millennarian ideas among the Christians, the apologies and apologists of Christianity, the recent discoveries bearing on the history of ancient Christianity, etc.

In his "*Studi di Antica Letteratura Cristiana*" he states that he has been helped, in some of his researches, by the distinguished Italian professors, D. Comparetti, B. Malfatti and A. Del Vecchio.

Among Chiappelli's books, known also outside Italy, are the following very remarkable: "*Studi di antica letteratura cristiana*," Torino, Loescher, 1887; "*Saggi e Note Critiche*," Bologna, Zanichelli, 1895; "*Nuove Pagine sul Cristianesimo Antico*," Firenze, Le Monnier, 1902.

²"*Nuove Pagine sul Cristianesimo Antico*," Firenze, Le Monnier, 1902.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

for more than a century, has, by its steady subtraction of force and action from the idea of the divine and the supernatural, in the mind and soul, created a religious crisis in modern society. Yet the same work of demolition seems, among some peoples, especially the Anglo-Saxons, to have started a revival of a reconciliation of religion with science and criticism, rather than to have extinguished in them religious spirit and vitality. (P. 173.)

During the struggles between Pope Pius X and the Italian Modernists, Prof. Chiappelli expressed, in various writings, his sympathy with the modernistic movement.

To us, he wrote, who look at this rude debate of today from the outside, and consequently, with liberty of spirit and serenity of soul, it seems that the necessity of the times should induce the Church not to try the restoration of a doctrine in great part dead, and to insist on the formal and inward unity of minds, but rather to quicken and uplift the spirit and religious sense which is vanishing among peoples, especially the Latins. Disciplining the habits of the clergy; purifying and simplifying worship; drawing liturgical prayer nearer the soul of the people, through a more frequent use of the vulgar tongue; removing from the Churches all those factitious and mawkish ornaments which today debase them and offend art as well as religion; diffusing the use and popular reading of the Gospels and the purest sources of Christian life; all this, is it not something better than to try to repress, through solemn forms of

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

authority, all the living principles of spiritual liberty?

* * * * *

A book published a few years ago by Baldassarre Labanca,¹ professor of the history of Christianity at the University of Rome, attracted the keenest attention of Italian intellectual classes. It is a critical and scientific study of the Papacy.² The origin, the struggles and vicissitudes as well as the future destinies of the Papacy are treated by Prof. Labanca, who displays in his book an historical knowledge as deep as his critical insight.

Regarding the origin of the Papacy, Prof. Labanca affirms that it is nothing but a creation of the civil genius of Rome, even as the Reformation is, to a great extent, a creation of German genius.

To the Catholics, he says, the Papacy is a divine institution, and, accordingly, a creation of the religious genius of Christ. On the contrary, to the Protestants the Papacy is a creation of the genius of evil, of anti-Christ, to whom the New Testament alludes. To the old Catholics, headed by the famous theologian, Dollinger, the Papacy is the altered primacy of the Church. Well, what must I say on these different propositions? It

¹Baldassarre Labanca, professor of religion at the University of Rome, has published several books, pamphlets and articles on religious and ecclesiastical matter which have made his name illustrious in Italy as well as abroad. His scholarship has been acknowledged by foreign writers, as, for instance, K. Wirner (*Die Italianische Philosophie*); R. Flint (*Philosophy as "scientia scientiarum"*); M. Vernes, *Revue philosophique*; C. Bonnet-Maury, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*; A. Naville, *Bibliothèque universelle et Revue Suisse*.

²"Il Papato," Fratelli Bocca, 1905.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

has been demonstrated that the institution of the Papacy is not found in the Bible. The Catholic belief concerning the origin of the Papacy is in contrast with the New Testament, with the critical and historical exegesis and the history of the Church, impartially examined. Though not a proselyte of the old Catholics, yet I agree with their great leader that the Papacy, in its present universal and infallible autocracy, does not in the least represent early Catholicism, the authority of which was invested in the Episcopate assembled in Council, and not in one bishop, who is a dictator and legislator of the universal Church. The Papacy, in its actual form, is a deviation from the primitive Christian doctrine. (P. 313.)

Of Roman Catholicism, Prof. Labanca says:

To the Roman Catholics true religion is nothing but dogma and authority. They will never persuade themselves that religion is by far more efficient and beneficial when it has fewer dogmas and more moral sentiment; less external authority and more inward authority of conscience. During the primitive ages of Christianity neither the multiplicity of dogmas nor absolute authority constituted Christian life. He was being acknowledged as a Christian who lived doing good in the name of God and the Christ of God. To-day we wish to return to this great ideal, from which Christian Churches have gone far, more particularly the Roman Catholic, which emphasizes dogmas and authority and has little or no fervent religious sentiment at all. (P. 420.)

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

In regard to the modern currents within the Roman Church, Prof. Labanca writes:

The liberal Catholic movement has increased year by year, not only in Germany, but also in France and in Italy. It is endorsed by young and cultured priests, and is worthy, indeed, of consideration; but their good intentions break against the vehement waves which move in the ocean of the Vatican. They will not obtain durable results as long as they live in the persuasion that one must believe the dogma of the Infallibility and admit the admonitions and decisions of the Papacy to be not censurable and not to be appealed from. Their publications have been already condemned and the authors held in suspicion. Let us be instructed by what has happened in Germany to Kraus and Ehrardt; in France to Loisy and Houtin, and in Italy to Minocchi, Semeria and Murri. The new Catholics have fallen into various mistakes. They believe possible a reform "with" the pope, so many times demanded and yet never obtained; and that curialism and jesuitism, which are the pivots of Roman ecclesiastical authority, can be beaten down without an active and resolute resistance. Why do they not remember the memorable resistance of Paul to Peter, in Antioch, which decided the future of Christianity against Judaism? (P. 407.)

A further motive for our being grateful to Prof. Labanca is that he deals also with the problem of the unity of Catholicism and Protestantism.

The majority of Protestants and Catholics, he writes, are convinced that the evangelical Church

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

shall never become Catholic, and vice versa. Nevertheless, it is not rare that Protestants turn Catholics and Catholics become Protestants. Nowadays, in Austria, one hears frequently the cry: "Los von Rom" (let us leave Rome), a cry which induces many Catholics to endorse Protestantism.

Catholics and Protestants who think of the traditional enmity and also of the undeniable doctrinal disparities lean toward a more resolute division between the two Christian confessions. Those, on the contrary, who think of some incontestable affinities, incline, if not to reunion, at least to a "modus vivendi." Because of such dogmatic affinity and other relationships between Protestantism and Catholicism, we think that they could, if not unite, at least live together peacefully, one emulating the other in furthering the moral and civil progress in the world.

But why is it that a decisive conciliation between Catholics and Protestants is so difficult? The supreme reason is that Protestants cannot and do not wish to submit to the unbounded authority of the Papacy. . . . Fortunately there are nowadays Catholics and Protestants of good will, who are trying to bring about a tolerant reciprocal attitude. They insist on it, so much the more in that they are growing aware of a widely irreligious science threatening and attacking both the Churches. But, on the other hand, the differences between the two confessions being so considerable, especially in regard to the absolute authority of the Papacy, which Protestants have disavowed and still disavow, every attempt at re-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

union has been frustrated. Catholicism is essentially a religion of authority, and, on this regard, it will never give up. As such, it is a product of the Latin genius, which prevailed in the Catholic Church after the fall of the Roman empire. On the contrary, Protestantism is a religion of liberty, that is of free thought, free belief, free conscience. It is also a religion of authority, but of an authority not so much external and committed to its pastors as it is an interior authority, entrusted principally to the Christ and the inward experience which man can feel by faith in the same Christ. (P. 407.)

As Raffaele Mariano, so also Prof. Labanca does not confine himself to the study of the past history and present life of the Papacy. From the past as well as the present he makes inductions as to its future. He does not think a self-reform of the Papacy possible. He holds that if the Papacy is to be reformed, it must be done by the action of the clergy, who, in order to bring it about, ought to be brave enough to fight for it. The translation of a few paragraphs will prove illuminating.

Dealing with the political Papacy, Prof. Labanca writes:

The traditions of the Catholic Church, by which the Papacy abides, are the very opposite of the political conquests made by modern science and civilization. It is desirable, nay, necessary, that the Papacy cease to be political. The whole political baggage of the middle ages, which has hitherto been the equipment of the Papacy, must become only a memory for the Catholics of Italy as well as the world. All the denominations and political

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

functions of the Church, such as Secretary of State, Apostolic Nuncios, Ambassadors of the Holy See, Apostolic Delegates and the other diplomatic offices, must disappear. The Church can very well exercise its spiritual authority through the Episcopate. The Episcopate must retake its ancient high mission. Ecclesiastical communications can be made to the bishops, the primitive and sure organs of the Church. The nuncios and the ambassadors of the Holy See have been and are still a cause of many and grievous discords between the Church and the State. (P. 484.)

Prof. Labanca is no less forcible in his consideration of the future of the religious Papacy.

Let us ask, he says, do all Catholics agree in holding that the Papacy may endure such as it actually presents itself? All, it is true, wish that it may last forever; but, it is also true, not all admit that it can perpetuate itself under the present form. As soon as the Infallibility was proclaimed, Catholics separated into two camps, the "resigned" and the "not resigned" to the dogma. The latter intend to acknowledge Infallibility in the unanimous voice of the Church as expressed in the Councils and the Fathers of the first Christian age. In general they may be said to oppose the present papal system with a future episcopal one. As a consequence the pope would be no longer infallible, nor would he represent an authority of absolute jurisdiction.

All the attempts during the nineteenth century, to detach the Papacy from Jesuitism and bring it near to science and civilization have failed. Who

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

shall then call it back to the true principles of the Gospel, harmonized with the contemporary civil progress? Such an aim has been pursued in these days of ours by some Catholics of Germany, France, Italy and England, who profess themselves historians, or biblical critics or Christian democrats. These Catholics are greatly mistaken; for, while the Church obstinately persists in wishing to be unreformable, in regard to its dogmas, they, on the other hand, do not oppose such unreformability. They maintain that criticism is able to adapt Catholicism to the historical, exegetical and democratic progress of contemporary science and life, abstaining from a thorough discussion of several Catholic dogmas. Is there then a great sagacity needed to see that they are doomed to failure? As long as they do not resolve to demand with clearness and resoluteness a transformation of dogmas, at least of those regarding the Catholic hierarchy, as Gunther, Lamennais, Maret, Gioberti and others did, they will utterly fail to attain their end. Some of the liberal Catholics speak of an extrinsic, not intrinsic, mutability of dogmas. Such a distinction might be made in regard to christological dogmas; but it is necessary to avoid it when the hierarchical dogmas of the Church are spoken of, for they are extrinsically as well as intrinsically changeable. They, having been born for the particular needs of hierarchy, are changeable in themselves, according to the times. What cultured Catholic could nowadays believe any longer the dogmas of the divine or-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

igin of the Papacy and of the Infallibility of the pope? (P. 449.)

This consideration of the future of the Papacy is followed by such a ponderous warning as this:

If Catholics wish, as it is natural, that the religious Papacy should live long, it is necessary that it recommend the Catholic religion not so much for its dogmas as for the practice of Christian virtues, itself beginning to set a luminous example of them. The Catholic Church, more than the other Christian bodies, has sanctioned a cumulus of dogmas harmful to the true Christian sentiment, in order to bring about a greater luxuriance of noisy ecclesiastical pomps and ceremonies, a greater glorification of the mother of Jesus, a greater credit for miraculous sanctuaries, a greater profusion of indulgencies, a greater increase of papal authority. All this dogmatic burden, laid on the conscience of the faithful, is very noxious to the future of the religious Papacy. I do not say that the pope should make declarations against dogmas. It is desirable that he should not create new ones, and should not attach importance to the old ones, several of which are sharp contradictions of science and of no moral efficacy in this historical period of civilization. Pope Pius X manifested the will of "Instaurare Omnia in Christo." The independent scientists and historians who believe that Christianity can still concur to ameliorate the moral and social life of nations, wish—and so do I—that the Papacy should truly restore everything in Christ. This restoration implies three things above all: that the Papacy put off

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

its unlimited religious and political authority; that Catholicism lay aside all that which is repugnant to the Gospel of Christ; that the pope act again as the spiritual father of the faithful in Christ. (P. 469.)

Prof. Labanca ends his scholarly work thus:

Some Catholics, in reading my words, expressing the mind and wish of many thinkers, both Italian and foreign, will grow furious and exclaim: *Desiderium Peccatorum Peribit*. As an independent historian, not opposed to religion, what must I say? Let us not delude ourselves by thinking that the religious Papacy is soon to end, even as some critics believe. One needs to be blindfolded not to see that the religious Papacy has still wide and deep roots. The historian cannot decline to admit for it a more or less long future, according to the reforms, more or less serious, which will be called for by internal as well as external forces. As for myself, a free believer, let me add that a sudden or near death of the old sinner being not likely, it is to be hoped that it convert itself, and that its sincere conversion, may influence the morals and civilization of Catholic peoples.

* * * * *

Speaking of the denunciations of Roman Catholicism by contemporary Italians we ought not to omit the name of Leone Caetani, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, widely known among the intellectual class of the capital. His weighty booklet, "*La Crisi Morale Dell'ora Presente*" (The Moral Crisis of the Present Hour),

¹"Leone Caetani. "*La crisi morale dell'ora presente: religione, modernismo e democrazia*," Roma, 1911.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

strongly charges Rome with having put herself out of the current of religious, moral and civil progress of mankind. He says in part:

The Roman Church has forsaken her ancient popular traditions; she has ceased to exert that beneficial reforming influence with which she used once to stimulate progress and moral improvement and which was her principal "raison d'être" in the early age. . . . Reduced as she is without vigor or power of adapting and evolving herself, grown torpid through so many centuries of existence, and already threatened with a deathblow, she can only repeat theological and ecclesiastical formulas, old and in sharp contrast with the most profound moral needs of the present hour.

Commenting on the war waged by Pius X against modernism, Hon. Caetani says:

The anti-modernism of the pope is not a war waged against a doctrine or a defense of true religion, but it is a desperate attempt to keep unshaken papal autocratic power over ecclesiastical matters and its spiritual dominion over the faithful; for the Church of Rome is threatened in her doctrines and ecclesiastical authority, and every calm and impartial man can observe on her forehead the mark of a mortal moral disease, a disease which is driving her to the madness of suicide; and the suicidal madness with which the spirit of the Vatican is actually possessed, is shown, above everything else, by the war it has declared on all the new currents of religious belief.

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Another thinker who has not spared Roman Catholi-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

cism is Senator Angelo Mosso, one of the greatest contemporary physiologists and writers of Italy. His book, "*La Democrazia Nella Religione e Nella Scienza: Studi Sull'America.*" ("Democracy in Religion and Science: Studies on America"), is of very great interest for Americans. It treats of American immigration, socialism, democracy, intellectual, religious and social features of modern American life.

Speaking of Italian and American socialists, the author after having brought forth some points of contact between them, states that one of the chief factors differentiating the Italian working man from the American is "religious sentiment."

Probably, he writes, Americans will never become true socialists, for our Christianity without God does not please Americans. The atheism of Italian and European socialism fails to find a favorable ground in the United States.

Dealing with the problem of education, Sen. Mosso says that:

Education is the principal business of the American nation. It is from the universities that the people draw the strength of their brains, the force of their arms, and that active spirit which is necessary to the expansion of modern life.

Then he complains that Italian system of pedagogy is neither liberal nor efficient, and that Italy has not yet abandoned the old scholastic tradition, to turn to modern life.

The medieval tradition, he writes, and scholasticism are still strongly rooted in the teaching of

¹Sen. A. Mosso. "*La democrazia nella religione e nella scienza.*" Milano, Treves, 1906.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

our universities and the influence of Catholicism (which made the philosophers shortsighted, by shutting them in the contemplation of the inward world) still dominates Italian schools. The modern school in Italy still feels the medieval influence of monastical life and the fatal contempt thrown by Catholicism on the so-called earthly life. It seems that a book, in order to be recommended by our teachers, must contain all that is more flaccid and rancid in the manuals used in Roman seminaries.

* * * * *

In a survey of modern religious thought in Italy we cannot fail to refer briefly to what has been rightly called "Modernism." Modernism has not been an exclusive Italian movement, for its greatest representatives are French and English; yet Italians have brought to it a precious contribution of intellectual activity and, what is more, of moral and spiritual energy. In the general decay of religion in Italy, it may be stated that modernism has been the only breath of religious ideal and a source of hope for a better future of religion among Italians. Further Italian modernism has derived a peculiar importance from the fact that Italy, the seat and center of papal Catholicism, has been the theater of the most violent struggle between the old and new Catholic principle.

It would be hard to analyze, within brief limits, such a complex movement as modernism. The representatives of it, though agreeing in certain fundamental ideas, have manifested various tendencies, adopted different methods, pursued dissimilar aspirations. The modernism of some,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

for instance, the Rev. Gazzola, Father Semeria,¹ Bishop Bonomelli, Father Ghignoni, has been of such a moderate character as not to exceed the boundaries of ecclesiastical discipline, practices of worship, political relations of the Church. Some others, more radical, as Murri, Minocchi,²

¹Father Giovanni Semeria, a Barnabite priest, became famous in Italy, during the latter part of last century, for his scholarship, his eloquence and, above all, his strong and sincere Christian convictions. He has published some valuable books, among which: "Venticinque anni di storia del Cristianesimo nascente," Roma, 1900; "Primo sangue cristiano," Roma, 1901; "Dogma, gerarchia e culto nella chiesa primitiva," Roma, 1902.

But his works, though remarkable for wealth of scholarship, are wanting in exegesis free from Papal preconcepts. In certain writings, however, as, for instance, in the "La question synoptique" (appeared in the *Revue Biblique*, Paris, October, 1892), he is considerably unprejudiced. The tendency of Father Semeria to apologize in behalf of the Roman hierarchy is more or less strong in most of his works. Yet not even Father Semeria has been spared from the calumnies and persecution of the Jesuits, the ever-active bosses of the Vatican. Under their malignant influence he was, for a certain period of time, exiled from Rome and forbidden to preach.

²The Rev. Salvatore Minocchi, formerly professor of Hebrew at Florence, is one of the greatest contemporary biblical scholars of Italy, as his studies on the Psalms and Isaiah have attested. He was the editor of the "Rivista Critica e Storica di Studi Religiosi," which was first issued in the year 1901, in Florence, and has had a perilous existence. The review was truly remarkable for its scientific criticism and modern breadth. Professor Minocchi is a further victim of the Jesuitical hatred and persecution. Removed from his teaching chair in a Catholic institute of Florence and commanded to make a retraction of his views of the symbolical character of the first chapters of the Genesis, he boldly answered: "Never, never will I make such a base surrender of my Catholic conscience to scientific views which I know to be very false." He was suspended "a divinis" in 1908, and late, in the same year, he voluntarily withdrew into secular life.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Fracassini,¹ have employed their critical spirit and the rich patrimony of their biblical and historical scholarship for the elaboration of a new conception of dogmas, traditions, authority of the Church.

The activity of the modernists has not limited itself to the strictly religious field; while some have been dealing with biblical criticism, ecclesiastical history and theology, others have occupied themselves with social questions and pursued the generous dream of a moral reform of society.

Yet, amidst such a disparity of tendencies and criteria, the aim has been one: to adapt Roman Catholicism to the thought and life of the modern world, harmonize religious truth with the spirit of the times, renew the medieval religion of the Church in such wise that it may have power to reach the world in which we live and transform it.

Of the principles of the new liberal Catholicism one may be pointed to as fundamental, that of religious evolution. Religious truth does not escape the great law of development. According to the moderate evolutionists within the Roman Church, the dogmas and institutions of the Church are divinely pre-formed; and their historical development is nothing else but an explication of the same dogmas and institutions which are already, in a specific manner, within the bosom of primitive Christianity. Modernists hold, on the contrary, that the dogmas and institutions of the Church are the result of a more vital and creative evolution of Christian conscience. Against the mechanical and unscientific papal theory of

¹Mgr. Umberto Fracasini, Rector of the Grand Seminary of Perugia and one of the foremost advisers of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, was deprived of these two offices, by order of Pius X, on the ground of Modernism.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

development, which consists in nothing more than a gradual unfolding of the original deposit of faith, modernists maintain a more dynamic and true development, analogous to that of the organic evolution in the natural order, according to which internal and external factors co-operate to develop the life which was specifically pre-determined in the germ.

From this principle it follows that dogmas are not to be regarded as static formulas of truth; but rather as successive developments of the conscious life of the Church. They are genuine expressions of Christian life in a certain stage of its perpetual development. They are historical interpretations of that faith which is incessantly elaborated, under new forms, by Christian life. The creeds are not the truth itself of the Gospel; but only the symbolical form which the truth takes in order to preserve and perpetuate itself.

Modernists, accordingly, maintain that throughout the various periods of history there has been and ever shall be a changing realization by the Christian conscience of the truth of the Gospel. "Theology," says one of them, "has varied from age to age, and can and must change also in our time, assimilating its culture, if Christianity still wishes to satisfy the spiritual exigencies of our time." The doctrines, worship, institutions of the Church may, nay, must be reformed by the same principles from which they have been developed. The Church must be ready to restate her creeds, that they may be the real expression of the self-renewing Christian life.

The pope, who, in order to uphold his theory that Roman Catholicism as it stands today is the immediate, though implicit, creation of Christ Himself, refuses to

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

acknowledge the methods and results of scientific truth is by the modernists addressed thus:

You have preferred the men of syllogism to the men of deep knowledge, as though the salvation of the Church lay not in the objective establishment of historical truth, but in maintaining intact traditions which are void of meaning and foundation.¹

It is clear enough that modernists, through the principle of vital development of the Church and its truths and institutions, have not repudiated the reality and necessity of dogma; they have only substituted for its static conception an evolutionary one. Thus they have both saved the integrity and historical continuity of Christian life within the Church and secured its adaptability to the changing experiences and exigencies of souls, throughout history.

These modernists, the great and noble elaborators of such a constructive and admirable system of Christianity, have never disavowed the authoritative function of the Church. It is true that they have been denounced as rebels to authority; but rebels they were not. In the above mentioned letter to the pope, they affirm unmistakably that:

As Christians we accept the authority of the Church as the careful dispenser of eternal truth inherited from Christ, to regulate and govern our religious life and to interpret and supply the living needs and exigencies of it.

What modernists strongly disavow is an absolute, unconditional, blind submission of Christian conscience to

¹See "Che cosa vogliamo" (What we want), an open letter to Pius X by a group of Italian priests.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

the authority of the Church. They cannot accept as genuine authority an absolutism which silences the voice of the collective conscience of the Church and crushes the vitality of the inward Christian experience. They cherish the idea of setting, above the papal absolutism, a higher tribunal, the collective conscience of the universal Church, and substituting for Roman imperialism Christian Catholicism.

There is none who can fail to realize the renovating energy which the modernistic system carries with itself. It is the elaboration of a new synthesis of Christianity. The fundamental canon of modernism is not to repudiate the traditional element of Christianity, but to harmonize it with the actual experience of souls. It is a new attempt to free Catholic doctrines and institutions from their medieval forms and carry them into modern life.

Modernism has embraced, within its vast idea of renovation, not only dogmas, worship and institutions, but ritual, practices, discipline, briefly all the elements of Christian system. Of all this modernism has rejected nothing; it has only wished its modernization. Thus, for instance, while deeply appreciating the power and beauty of Catholic symbolism, modernists have also realized the necessity of freeing worship from excessive formalism and restore it to a more primitive simplicity. They have raised the cry for a more spiritual worship, a worship which should help and support, not constitute or substitute the inner life of faith. They have employed their historical and critical spirit to put to flight a vast amount of legends of saints, pious fables concerning shrines, miraculous efficacy of relics; they have declared war on superstition in all of its forms. They have also denounced

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

the countless forms of popular devotions as lessening the power of faith. They have pleaded for a democratization of papal absolutistic government, a reform of the medieval ecclesiastical system of education, a more active participation of the laity in the government of the Church, a removal of abuses and scandals from the bosom of the Church, a moderation of enforced celibacy; briefly they have advocated a renovation of the Church in all the spheres of its life.

The rise of this new religious thought within the Roman Church is easy to be told. The modernistic doctrines, which have not been, as yet, fully elaborated and systematized, are closely connected with the developments of biblical and historical criticism. As the results of the New Criticism widened and became more evident, the deficiencies of the medieval theology were also more fully realized, and the need grew of a new theology which should welcome and assimilate the precious contributions of the new critical studies. Within a few years the new theological tendencies became strongly marked in the Roman religious world. Italian priests who, because of their closest contact with the Papacy, felt more deeply the grip of papal system, could not fail to play an important part in the struggle between the old and new Catholicism. Having fully acquainted themselves with the results of modern historical and critical knowledge, with their souls inspired by the ideal of true Christian life, they came into the field, and began to deal mortal blows to the scholastic system. The early modernistic activity in Italy was almost prodigious. Meetings were held to discuss and further the new doctrines; reviews were published in order to explain and spread the new thought; scholarly books followed one after the other; a new re-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ligious literature arose. Even the columns of political daily papers, as, for instance, "*Il Corriere Della Sera*," of Milano, took a passionate interest in the new ideas.

The movement swept over the peninsula as an unrestrainable tide. A great part of the young priests were won over to it; a great many among the most scholarly professors in the seminaries approached, more or less closely, to the new ideas and became, in their turn, centripetal powers. Even among the hierarchical spheres modernism found sympathizers and active supporters. The Vatican, which seemed at first to have failed to realize the vitality and extent of the movement, became at once alarmed, and a violent reaction was organized by the Jesuits. The new doctrines were utterly misinterpreted and condemned. Their champions were calumniated as agnostic, atheists, anarchists, and, accordingly, fiercely persecuted. Espionage, removal of teachers from colleges, excommunication, even exile, briefly the most drastic measures were taken to destroy every trace of modernism.

The resistance of Italian modernists to the strokes of authority did not break down easily. In the year 1907 a detailed reply to the condemnatory papal encyclical "*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*" was published in Rome, under the title "*Il Programma dei Modernisti*," strongly maintaining the absolute necessity of a new Christian apologetic, as a consequence of the undeniable results of historical criticism. In 1908, in spite of the obstinate efforts of ecclesiastical authorities to suppress modernist literature and the excommunication launched against the most prominent champions of the new doctrines, the review, "*Nova et Vetera*," was founded. In the same year

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

the "Lettere di un Prete Modernista" was published, with theological views of a decidedly negative character.

The stormy persecution of the Vatican was met with a real Christian courage by the modern Catholics, who played a noble part in the unchristian struggle. Convinced that they could assault Roman Catholicism better from within than from without, modernists have usually adopted the policy of avoiding conflict with the authority. Yet, when the yielding to authority implied a base, scandalous surrender of the enlightened conscience, some of them, though unwillingly, have rebelled.

In the struggle against modernism the Vatican thought itself to be the winner; but it was the real loser. By his repudiation of modernism Pius X did Rome an irreparable damage, which has reverberated throughout the whole world. The intellectual and social influence of Roman Catholicism, which had been decidedly on the decline, since the middle of the nineteenth century, has, within the last decade, been immeasurably weakened.

The period of acute crisis is over these many years, and modernism is living today its normal life. It is continuing its work silently in the conscience of the Church. There are many who seem to think that modernism has been definitely crushed by the tremendous power of the official Church; but they are greatly mistaken. That great fire is not, cannot be, extinguished. There is in it the light of truth and the warmth of life; the forces of darkness and death cannot prevail over it. What is dead is the radical modernism, the modernism of those who nourished themselves with German rationalistic theology and issued the unhappy "Programma." It is dead, the modernism which went out of the Church, and became a branch of liberal Protestantism or of free thought.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Such modernism was bound to die, for it was, in its fundamental part, destructive of Christianity. Its rationalistic tendency stagnated and killed it.

But the modernism which kept itself within the Church, though it seemed to go underground, did not perish altogether. This is evidenced by the fact that a new modernism has more recently risen in Italy, which has already won a great part of the young clergy and is gradually spreading even amongst the rural priesthood. In the year 1911 it issued its program. Here are some statements concerning the reform which the new Catholics intend to accomplish:

We want, they say, the revision of dogma, the revision of all our confessions of faith; we want that which is substantial in Christianity to be separated from that which has been added later, in the interest of the sacerdotal caste.

We want the authority of the pope to be reduced to its just limits, and the episcopacy and the laity to be reinstated to their ancient authority, rights and freedom.

We want all believers to enjoy the right of free research in all the fields recognized as legitimate. We do not want the abolition of the hierarchy; but we want all its grades, from the lowest to the highest to be represented not by men of intrigue, ambition and cunning, but by men prompted by apostolic spirit. . . . Among the rights to be given back to the clergy we want celibacy to be voluntary, not compulsory. If it is true that matrimony is a sacrament for the laymen, we want it to be the same even for the priests. In regard to worship, we wish it to be brought back to its

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ancient simplicity and purity. We want the abolition of Latin language in the liturgy; the abolition of all those fables and idols, which, besides lacking justification in any true and sure tradition, are very often disproved by sound criticism as historically inexistent. We want the veneration due to the great saints of the Church not to replace the worship due to God alone; and we want this worship, which at present is so material, to become again the worship in spirit and truth. . . . We want the abolition of all false devotional practices; and, as a substitute for all the sickly sentimental books of prayers and pious meditations, we desire the Gospel of Christ, the greatest book that Christianity possesses, the only book capable of bringing up the spirit in a true and manly piety. In conclusion we ask: from whom shall we expect all these and the many other reforms which our Christian conscience demands? It is almost vain to expect them from such as are in high places. . . . We believe that the power of reform rests in the people. When Christian conscience awakens within the masses, the day of the reform of the Church will not be far off.¹

Such a sound, constructive, practical program as this bears in its bosom the germs of a long and prosperous life. The goal of the new Catholics is restoration in the truest sense of the word; their efforts cannot fail to be crowned with success. They will succeed if they are loyal to their purposes. What the new Catholics need

¹Gennaro Avolio. "La Riforma Religiosa." Battaglie d'oggi, Napoli, April, 1911.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

above all is moderation. They should seek light and counsel in the primitive Catholicism of the Anglican Church and not in the liberal or rationalistic Protestantism of Germany, now hopelessly discredited by war. They ought to repel the temptation of rationalism, for radical tendencies cannot help ultimately proving negative and destructive. The relentless individualism and the consequent intellectual and spiritual anarchy, which are at the bottom of modern liberal Protestantism, can never become the basis for a reform of Roman Catholicism. To renounce the threefold fundamental principle of Catholicism, namely, the hierarchical, dogmatic, and traditional, would be not to reform, but to revolutionize; not to construct, but to destroy.

Besides moderation of views, modernists need a great deal of prudence and patience in their conduct. They ought to avoid premature partial outbreaks, which the ecclesiastical authorities can easily repress; persevere in their work of infiltration and penetration; win the confidence of the intelligent part of the laity, and thus prepare the Church for the supreme clash against the fortress of a system so well organized and so deeply rooted in the past. The future of the new Catholicism shines with the light of victory, but the way to triumph is war, waged with courage, strategy and perseverance.

The vitality of Italian modernism is also attested by the flourishing "Christian Democratic League," which, besides keeping afire the new religious ideals, is displaying a considerable activity in that country. The following program was put forth a few months ago (July, 1917) by that League:

We believe in the Church's authority as willed by God, and we loyally accept it. It represents

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

a force and a bond without which society could not exist, and we are proud to acknowledge all the good this authority has done to the world. But we hope and work so that the Church may come to fulfill her great mission by such means as are in accordance with the democratic régime in which we live. By saying that we want a democratic Catholicism we only ask for a Catholicism that may call itself truly Christian.

The group of Christian Democrats has a representation also in the Parliament. One of the most intelligent leaders is Hon. Ciriani, whose speech as to the participation of the pope in a future peace congress was a strong denunciation of the secret aims of the Vatican to regain political and territorial advantages.

If the Church wants to obtain a larger influence on the world's history, he said, she must do it through those means which no earthly power can take from her, through the holiness, the self-giving activity, the martyrdom of her sons, and by living our modern life in truth, the essence of which is democracy.

The close of his speech was still more offensive to the Vatican.

Were it possible for us, he continued, to see the head of the Catholic Church as the father of all Christians, as the upholder of the highest principles of justice and right, our opposition would be baseless. But then the Holy See ought to have declared herself impartial rather than neutral; she should have used all the spiritual weapons to condemn those nations which, while calling themselves

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Christian, have sinned against the very ideals
which religion stands for.

* * * * *

It would be difficult to relate the history of all the Italian champions of modernism, for each one of them has had his own story and tragedy. Such histories, except some particulars, are, on the whole, always the same: A long preparation of severe historical and biblical studies and a consequent realization of the inadequacy of the old Catholicism to supply the needs of modern souls; seeking a more efficient Christianity in a new Catholic system wherein the experience of the past and the actual life should melt in one; a complete dedication of oneself to the realization of the new ideal of synthesis and renovation; the condemnation of the Church which does not and which will not understand that ideal; the just protest, ending often in rebellion, of the new Catholic conscience against the abandonment and betrayal of truth; bearing with Christian fortitude the cruel blows of authority—here are the main characteristics common to the story of almost every one of Italian modernists.

One of the most active among the champions of the new religious ideals in Italy has been the Rev. Romolo Murri, of the diocese of Fermo, in central Italy, a scholar absorbed in historical and biblical research, but also moved by the problems of social and political life. He is a veritable apostle of democracy, a man who would bring into Roman Catholicism a stream of free spirit, bring religion nearer to the soul of the people, and thus renew their moral and social life. He says:

We wish a Christianity more pure, more intense,
more practical, more Christian, more resembling
its original, more consonant with the Gospel.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

He laments the lack of real religion in Italy, and he describes it as the cause of the lack of moral energy, which is evident both in the individual and social life. As all other modernists, he believes in Catholicism and deplors its deformation by the Roman Church. He says that the reason why many Catholics hate Catholicism is because they do not understand it; and they do not understand it because it is being misrepresented to them.

In the second volume of his "*Battaglie d'oggi*," Murri deeply deplors the disproportion between ecclesiastical and modern culture in Italy and assails the methods of religious teachings in Roman Catholic Seminaries.

How many, he asks, of our clergymen who represent the average of culture know anything about the conquests of modern thought during the past eighty years, or about those concerns of positive criticism which are both the torment and the glory of modern research in all branches of knowledge? How many know even the names of several new branches of science? In the philosophical and theological field the study of the internal history of the various branches which are taught, of the development of doctrine and its relation to the history of culture is entirely neglected. Everything proceeds as in past times. Through the hands of our young students still circulate voluminous treatises on dogma, in which, because of the absolute defect of any critical subsidy and historical criterion, there is not to be found one single argument scientifically deduced from Scriptures or the Fathers. Expert theologians will feel embarrassed in hearing discussions about the history of dogma, Babylonian myths reflected in

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

the Bible, Hellenistic penetrations into Saint John's Gospel, or in seeing the history of the Jewish people considered as a document of barbarous times and manners, and that of the Church expounded through historical materialism.

Then he proceeds to show the social inefficiency of such Roman Catholic culture.

How can we pretend, he writes, that such a clergy can exert a wide influence upon the society in which they live? It is true that all that which represents the substance of religion, dogma, morals, worship and the like is ancient and perennial. Yet new and grievous questions constantly arise apropos of dogma, morals, rite and all that concerns the life of Catholicism and the manner of understanding, explaining and harmonizing it with the desires of the souls who seek faith and with the results of contemporary studies. Catholicism lives in the midst of humanity; it lives in minds and souls who advance and progress every day, and it possesses an admirable power of adaptation and assimilation. It constantly creates and moulds new forms of action for the times; it collects and segregates; it takes from the other sciences what it needs in order to explain the divine and make it acceptable; it tries to penetrate the other branches of knowledge, especially philosophy and law, in order to impress upon them directions in accord with its own principles. All this exacts, on the part of the Catholic students, peculiar activity and prerogatives both of mind and patience.

Yet this work of internal progress in theology,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

adapted to the external progress of human sciences, has been, and is still, zero in Italy. Enter one of our Theological Schools and you will feel yourself in "settecento," and perhaps you will discover that they have gone still further back, have left beyond even the positive dogmatics of Petavius and the metaphysics of Suarez and have returned to Cajetan.

In the masterful conference "Catholicism and Life" Don Murri laments the divorce between the Catholic religion and the movements of modern thought and conscience, maintains that the clergy are not a caste, but historically and intimately bound to the social life and, accordingly, they must live this life if they wish to redeem it. Unless the clergy convert themselves to science and are reconciled with life, they will lose their influence over the popular masses, even as they have already lost it over the educated classes. Catholics, both of the clergy and laity, are warmly besought to seek in the Gospel and in Jesus Christ the spirit of the new age. Short excerpts from Murri's epoch-making conference will reveal to us the fervor of religious ideality which inflames his soul.

Speaking of the necessity of culture for the clergy, he says:

There is a thing in which we all are wanting: the art of securing rich harvest by rational methods of fertilizing the soil, the art of patient transformation, to make good for the defective spontaneity of the ground. Friends, if we are sick, our sickness is not in the will, but in our intelligence; if we are wanting something, it is not the consciousness of the goal which we seek, but the

¹"Battaglie d'oggi," Vol IV.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

knowledge of the means of how to attain it; if there is a peculiar initiative which ought to be at heart in all Italians and with which all ought to concur, it is a wide, vigorous and efficacious propaganda "pro cultura." The bridegroom is on the way: let us replenish our lamps. From the inaccessible springs of thought, from the unexplored or neglected sources of positive science and Christian wisdom let us derive through the thousands of rivulets, the waters of knowledge to fecund every clod, to enlighten every lonely corner of our villages, to move the humble loom which weaves the cloth of our country, and to bring our word to every waiting soul and every suffering man. Here is life, here renaissance and salvation.

Our initiative, he goes on, cannot be strictly religious, nor literary, nor political, nor economical, nor municipal. Let us acknowledge the intimacy of religious thought; let us acknowledge, more especially, the manifest complexity of life. There is burning today, within the breasts of the young Catholics, a lively and restless desire of being men of our time, of suffering and loving with it, in order to communicate to it our anxieties and deep love of God and His Church, and to baptize and save democracy through such love. Let such desire be our counsellor and guide: let us confidently abandon ourselves to it: *Amate et Facite Quod Vultis*. . . .

He ends thus:

The greatness of our vocation lies in this, that we must create, slowly and laboriously, a new

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Italy, bringing again Catholicism into the life of the Italy of today and of the proletariat which is steadily arising. We must permeate with Catholicism the whole Italian public life and transfuse it into the veins of the proletariat and democracy.

None, perhaps, among the liberal Catholics has worked, fought, suffered more than Don Romolo Murri for the triumph of the new Catholicism. He has been the organizer and discipliner of the forces of modernism in Italy; and, consequently, he has been a veritable victim of the most atrocious persecution on the part of the Vatican. Because of his propaganda, in 1906 he was suspended "a divinis"; a thing, however, which did not prevent him from being elected deputy to the Italian Chamber. Not long afterwards the unbearable course of ecclesiastical authorities compelled him to sever his connection with the clerical order and he withdrew into secular life.

Among the intellectual productions of the modern Italian Catholics there is nothing to be compared to Murri's three volumes "*Le Battaglie d'oggi*" (The Battles of today), a work overflowing with faith and science, and throwing dazzling light upon the most tremendous problems of modern Christian life. Among the other productions of his religious genius we notice: *Psicologia della Religione*, Roma, 1905; "*Democrazia e Cristianesimo*," "*La Vita Religiosa nel Cristianesimo*," 1907; "*Della Religione, della Chiesa e dello Stato*," Milano, 1910; "*La Bibbia nella storia d'Italia*," Firenze, 1904; "*Un Papa, un Secolo e il Cattolicesimo Sociale*," Torino, 1904.

Among the other influential leaders of the modernistic movement in Italy we cannot fail to cite with reverence the names of Giovanni Semeria, Salvatore Minocchi and Umberto Fracassini.

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Among the laity, Antonio Fogazzaro² has put his liter-

¹Romo Murri, "*Le battaglie di oggi*," Roma, 1901.

²Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911) is a world-famous name. His

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ary genius to the service of the Christian Democratic action. Genuine Catholic spirit as he was, he had a deep realization of the necessity of a larger and freer interpretation of the doctrinal formularies within Roman Catholicism. He expressed his views in his novel "*Il Santo*," wherein Benedetto, in his interview with the pope, pleads for a reformation of the Church. He says to the pope:

Holy Father, the Church is sick. Four wicked spirits have entered its body to fight against the Holy Ghost. One of these is the spirit of falsehood. There are many who call themselves faithful and yet do not understand how deficient and

novels, poems and conferences placed him among the greatest literary geniuses of Italy, during the second half of the last century. Among his novels excel: "*Piccolo mondo antico*"; "*Piccolo Mondo Moderno*"; "*Daniele Cortis*"; "*Malombra*"; "*Il Mistero del Poeta*." The highest religious, ethical and esthetic ideals prompt his writings: "*Ascensioni Umane*"; "*Il Dolore nell'Arte*"; "*Per la Bellezza di un'Idea*"; "*L'Origine dell'Uomo e il Sentimento Religioso*"; "*Sant'Agostino e Darwin*"; "*Discorsi*." (Editors: Baldini, Castoldi e C. Milano.)

The religious genius of Fogazzaro was as great as the literary. In his novel "*Il Santo* (Milano, 1906) he launched a program of ecclesiastical reform, having for its object a general renewal of Christian life. The book, which attracted the attention of the whole religious world, was put to the "Index" by Pius X.

Fogazzaro was a pupil of Abate Zanella, one of the few modern Italian poets whose productions are prompted by a genuine religious spirit. The essential object at which Fogazzaro's literary genius aims is a struggle on the part of spirit to free itself from matter and lift itself up to the height of spiritual ideals. In his earlier stage he is led by love as though the purifying and redeeming flame of the soul. But in his later works he looks for salvation no longer to the influence of womanhood, but to the divine power of religious faith.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

cowardly their faith is and how much the spirit of the Apostle, scrutinizing all things, is foreign to themselves. Worshippers of the letter, they wish to compel the adults to feed themselves upon a food for children, which they refuse. They do not understand that if God is infinite and unchangeable, yet man forms of Him an idea ever greater and greater from century to century, and the same may be said of the whole of divine Truth. Today few Christians realize that religion is not merely an adhesion of the intellect to formulas of truth, but that it is, above all, action and life, according to such truth: and those who do realize this, those who have the supreme worship of God-Truth and turn with an intrepid faith to Christ, to the Church and the Truth, are bitterly fought, defamed as heretics, compelled to silence. . . . Do not let, Father, external devotions, which are already enough, to multiply; rather recommend to the pastors the practice and teaching of internal prayer, which cures the soul even as some superstitions corrupt it.

The second evil spirit which infests the Church is the domination of the clergy. Those priests who have the spirit of power are not willing that souls should communicate directly and normally with God, to ask of Him advice and direction. The priests wish to direct the souls themselves, as mediators, and the souls grow weak and timid. The malefic spirit of domination has suppressed the ancient holy Catholic freedom. It would like to impose submissions which are not obligatory and retractations against conscience. It tends to

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

carry religious authority even outside the religious field.

Another evil spirit is that of immobility. The Catholics, dominated by such spirit, believe to please God, as the zealous Jews, who had Jesus crucified. All the clericals who today oppose progressive Catholicism would have had Jesus crucified in the name of Moses. They are idolatrous of the past: they would like to keep everything, even the most foolish traditions, unchanged within the Church.

In another discourse Benedetto says:

The Catholic Church, which proclaims itself the fountain of truth, opposes today the search for truth when it is carried on its own foundations, on the Holy Books, on the dogmas, on its asserted infallibility. To us this means that the Church has no longer faith in itself. The Catholic Church which proclaims itself the minister of life, today shackles and stifles whatever lives youthfully within it, and it props itself on all its decadent and antiquated usages.

Fogazzaro is an evolutionist. He believes in the evolution of the natural as well as historical and religious world. He knows that the rise and growth of all institutions, even religious ones, are inevitably followed by their decay. Yet he does not despair of the future of Catholicism. "I spoke," says the Saint, "of the eternal vitality of Catholic doctrine, of the power which the soul of Catholic doctrine possesses, to continually transform its own body, increasing its strength and beauty unlimitedly." Fogazzaro conceives Catholicism as containing, underneath those doctrines and practices which he calls

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

"ossified organisms," a final deposit of truth which cannot be destroyed, a reservoir of energies which cannot be dispersed.

"The Saint," which was put, by the influence of the Jesuits, upon the Index, was accepted by the Christian Democrats of Italy as their Gospel. Unfortunately the author himself, obsequious of ecclesiastical authority, retracted it: yet all sincere souls, within the Roman communion, know too well that the charges and complains of Benedetto are but too true.

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CHAPTER III.

THE CONSONANCE OF PROTESTANTISM WITH THE GERMAN SOUL.

THE preceding chapters have acquainted us with the existence of a modern anti-papal tradition in Italy, which is even stronger than the medieval one. The realization of the doctrinal and practical corruption of the papal Church, on the part of Italians, has never been so deep as in modern times.

Yet, in spite of this fact, Protestantism, the rival of Catholicism, has not made any substantial progress among the Latin peoples in recent times, and its hopes to reach them are today less bright than ever.

We have hinted at the various political, social and moral causes which prevented Protestantism from conquering the Latin world during the period of the Reformation. Such causes exist no longer nowadays: and yet Protestant failure to influence seriously the modern Latin soul is evident to all. What does that mean? It means that there must be permanent causes which prevent Protestantism from reaching the Latin soul. Indeed there are profound reasons why it fails to be acceptable to the Latin peoples. Such reasons lie deep in the discordance between the nature of the Protestant religion and the Latin spirit, as well as in the objective deficiencies of the religious conception of Luther and Calvin.

It is an undeniable fact that among the various races of the great human family, according as their aptitude to receive general ideas exists, their perception of art, literature, philosophy as well as religion varies. Deter-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

mining forces in the formation of a religious system are the psychological structure of the race and the social ambient in the midst of which such formation takes place. The development of the religious character follows closely that of the characters of tribes and races. Knowledge, art, literature, music, moral ideals, law, and even politics influence considerably both creed and cult. It may be safely said that every religious system is, in a great part, the result of the summing up of the various factors of a race within a certain ambient; in such wise that it is not so much man who adapts himself to the religion as religion that adapts itself to the man. Somewhat analogously, man is, to a great extent, but the product of his own education.

In fact looking at the various religious systems of the world, we find that religious manifestations are entirely consonant with the natural dispositions and manners of the peoples to which such manifestations appear. Glance, for instance, at the religious systems of the ancient Eastern peoples, of Greece, Rome, and of Islam. The emphasis on the future life by the Egyptians, the power and inscrutability of the divine among Babylonians, the duty of co-operation with Ahura-Mazda for the improvement of the world among the Persians, stress on the moral providence of Tien among the Chinese, briefly all the distinctive characters of the various religions were imparted by the psychological heredities and environments of the peoples among whom such religions took shape.

Thus, again, if we take into consideration the psychological elements peculiar to the ancient Indians, as well as their social and political system, we will come to the conclusion that Brahminism could not help assuming the features which it took, as the multiplicity of forms of

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

worship, the complication and minuteness of rites with a superstitious trust in them, and the divisions of castes and the like.

We realize the same if we turn to Greece. Embodiment of the divine in beautiful forms and ennoblement of it by the reflexion of philosophical science: here is the essence of the religion of the Greeks. Such a religious conception is in perfect consistency with Greek genius. The character of the Greeks was diverse, in a great many respects, from that of all other ancient peoples. A fancy, luminous and harmonious, an intelligence, quick, acute and balanced, a delicacy and depth of sentiment were the gifts of the Hellenic peoples. It is just such extraordinary power of thought, such disposition open to all the aspects of beauty that brought about the transformation of ancient religion.

Greek people raised themselves to a higher and nobler conception of divinity and to a marvelously refined moral and religious sentiment. They set, at the same time, their myths in an attractive order, by creating around them high poetical tales. They gave their gods, moreover, forms well defined and similar to the human, and made out of each of them a very perfect model at which they fixedly looked and to which they resolutely endeavored to conform. Thus through the Greek fancy the ancient and rougher natural gods and goddesses were transformed into ideal types of beauty, knowledge, wisdom, prudence, activity, foresight, courage, artistic genius, strength, power and art of government, in brief, into the types of all the prerogatives and virtues which constitute the physical and intellectual perfection of man. In this manner were born Apollo, Hermes, Athena, Venus Aphrodite, Demetra, and Dyonisius.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Likewise, the religion of the Romans was in full agreement with their temper and peculiar qualities of mind. Roman religion had exactly the same source as the Greek: yet there is, between them, a profound difference. The essential elements of the Roman religious system were the control of it by hierarchical orders and harmonization of religion to the needs of the State. The reason for it is not to be found elsewhere than in the unlikeness of the two peoples.

Romans were not endowed with an artistic nature. Their fancy did not rise to represent the gods under such perfect and elegant forms as that of the Greeks. The Romans were strong and simple-mannered people. Devoted to their gods, their family and their State, they entirely gave themselves to the welfare of their fireside and their country. They were, moreover, gifted with a practical and disciplinary spirit, which was wanting in the Greeks, a more ingenious, but also a lighter and more volatile people. It was such dispositions that enabled the Romans first to unify Italian tribes, and then to conquer the world and establish the greatest and most durable empire of ancient times.

Roman religion resembled the people, the most wise, orderly and strong in the world. There was nothing in Rome so complex, nothing better regulated and more profoundly respected than the practices of worship. The home education and faith in the fatherland being the foundation of Roman patriotism, the religion of the fire-side and of country became supreme. After Jupiter, none was more warmly worshipped than Juno, the protectress of mothers, and Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. Among the household gods the Penates were intensely

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

venerated. Then, together with Quirinus, Mars, Minerva, there were moral goddesses as Virtus, Fides, etc.

Turning then to Mohammedanism, we find that Mohammed was not the originator, but, to a great extent, himself the product of the religious ideals of his people. If one takes into due account the psychological structure of the Arabians, their warm soul, ardent imagination, vivacity, and exuberance of religious sentiment, he will easily understand the reasonableness of many features in the Mohammedan religious system; as, for instance, the absolute faith in and submission to Allah, the blind devotion to his service, the religious rigor, intolerant even of culture, for the Koran, "the perfect law of God," must suffice to the believer and absorb all his concerns.

Thus, again, the principles of equality and justice proclaimed by the Koran were but a reaction against the miserable oppression of the peoples by tyrants. Those renewing principles, combined with natural enthusiasm, explain to us how the poor, wild nomads, burning with a new faith in Allah, threw themselves upon the neighboring Greek Empire, weakened by internal dissensions and defended only by mercenaries, and shattered it.

Yet again, to understand the practice of polygamy among Mohammedans, the natural effeminacy and sensuality of Eastern races must be kept in remembrance.

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Now let us look at the Christian religion itself. Christianity, though based on the same principles, took in the East a form conspicuously different from that in the West. The Eastern church rightly claims to be the inheritor of the church of the Greek fathers, and, consequently, the most ancient and venerable portion of Catholic Christendom. Yet what a difference between

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

the Greek and Roman churches, though both are Catholic! It is a quite different type of Catholicity. The Eastern church differs from the Western not merely in respect of this or of that doctrine, but in her whole tenor of life, her spirit, and atmosphere. It is Catholicity elaborated by Eastern race, a race utterly unlike the Western one in psychology, tradition, and civilization.

The same great creeds were acknowledged in Greek and Latin Christendom; still, Greek theology presents a measurable contrast with the Latin. It assumed a decidedly more spiritual and mystical form. It accentuated in the Divine Incarnation the thought of the intimate connection between God and man. The Greek standpoint was pre-eminently interior, contemplative and ascetic; whereas the Latin was essentially moral, legal, and governmental. The philosophy by which the Eastern church was distinguished was transcendental: a character which may be seen, more distinctly than elsewhere, in the fathers of the Alexandrian school, Athenagoras, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria and Athanasius.

In the Latin domain, on the contrary, the conception of the divine "rulership" was most peculiarly emphasized. The scholarly Bishop Gore makes a telling remark on the subject:

Compare, he says, the Roman Leo's view of the truth with that of Athanasius, and the contrast is marked. Both Eastern and Western insist equally on the truth of the Church's dogma, but to the Eastern it is a guide to the knowledge of God, to the Western it is the instrument to subdue and discipline the souls of men.¹

¹"Roman Catholic Claims," 1889, Rivingtons, London.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

The theology of both had the doctrines of priestly mediation and sacramental efficacy; but it was reserved to the Latin genius to elaborate them and embody them in the most thorough hierarchical and sacramental system. When Greek theology had already long since run its course, and for more than five centuries had come practically to a standstill, the medieval Schoolmen, Anselm, Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, Suarez, Bellarmin, Petavius and others were working out the most consummate expression of the mediatory and sacramental ideas.

We know Greek Catholicism by the name of "Orthodoxy," that is, the church of sound Catholic doctrine. And rightly; for the Greek and Eastern church, more than any other, developed the doctrinal side of the Christian religion. This speculative development of the Greek Church had its determining reason in Greek mentality and tradition.

Greece had been the mother of philosophy. She had given the world Socrates, Plato and Aristotle—the authors of the deepest philosophico-moral systems of ancient times. The Greek Church inherited the glory of their splendid traditions and thereby she was enabled to become the mother of theology, which is but a religious philosophy. In the Greek fathers was transfused a great deal of the acumen, subtilty and versality of the great thinkers of Greece's past. Then, when paganism set itself to attack the new Christian doctrine by means of the Greek philosophical culture, the fathers made use of their mental gifts and their knowledge of the pagan culture to defend Christianity, explaining it and showing its inherent superiority over the theories of paganism.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

The same talent they employed when there arose the need of refuting the fierce heresies which troubled the church during the fourth and fifth centuries.

So the Greek-Eastern Church with her main centers of culture at Antioch and Alexandria (thanks to the intellect and traditions of her people) laid the foundation of the admirable edifice of Christian theology. It was the chief glory of the Greek fathers that there was reserved for them the great dogmatic work of defining the doctrines concerning the essential nature of the Godhead and its relation with manhood in the Incarnation.

If now we pass to consider Western or Roman Catholicism we note that its peculiar character has its profound and sufficient reason in the psychology and tradition of Roman people. While Greek Christianity became, as we have seen, essentially "theology," Roman Christianity shaped itself, above everything else, into "law." The Roman Church was deficient in speculative strength. She had not inherited from the empire a great philosophical tradition. Even the most celebrated of Roman thinkers, Cicero, Lucretius and Seneca were wanting in originality; they were but explainers of the philosophical theories come from Greece.

And so with the church. The greatest among her fathers were not deep theologians. Ambrose, Hilary, Leo, for instance, excelled more in the homiletic field than in the speculative. Gregory was greater as a statesman and organizer than as a theologian. Jerome was more remarkable for his erudition than for anything else. The Roman Church did not produce anything to be compared to "De Principiis" of Origen, or "Contra Arianos" of Athanasius. Therefore, when dissension broke out between the pagan culture and Christian doctrine, and

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

during the long epoch of Christological controversy the Roman Church did relatively little to solve the abstruse theological problems which confronted Christianity.

But, on the other hand, the Roman Church shewed an extraordinary aptitude in practical matters. While Greek churchmen were entirely absorbed in examining and explaining the principles of faith, Romans exerted a wonderful activity in the interpretation of the practical bearings of the same faith. They developed discipline, hierarchical organization, the government of the church. They elaborated and consolidated ecclesiastical law. The remarkable skill of the Roman Church in systematizing the faith was an heritage left her together with its tradition by the Roman Empire. The Roman ideal, with its admirable institutions, law, culture and history, had not died away at the fall of the empire. It was too great to die. It had survived the ruin of the ancient world. The Church of Rome had the privilege of inheriting the incomparable patrimony of the empire. She welcomed and appropriated it, by giving it religious consecration. Thus it was the church that caused the empire to be revived under a religious form. She renewed ecclesiastically its grandeur and political glories. The empire had subjugated and unified the world and, moreover, created a universal law: the Roman Church became herself a symbol of majesty, of order, of the unification of Christian peoples, a true center of Catholicity. The bishops of Rome concentrated in themselves all the power and prestige of the Caesars. All the ancient legal notions concerning the sovereign emperor were taken over by the autocracy of Rome and applied to the Popes. Such is the genesis of Roman or Papal Catholicism. It is a re-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ligious system closely connected with the tradition and genius of the people who elaborated it.

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The same applies to Protestantism. The Protestant religion is a form of Christianity perfectly consistent with the spirit and social atmosphere of the people who produced it. In fact, what are the most profound characteristics of Protestantism? They are rationalism and individualism. Protestantism is the triumph of individual critical reason in the religious sphere. "Away," said the German reformers, "with the Pope, the bishops, the priests, the saints, the virgin, with all the mediators which impede direct intercourse between God and man. Away with auricular confession, real presence, sacraments and traditions of the church which sully the purity of the evangelical faith. Let us free religion from dogmatism, institutional forms, rites of worship, from all its adventitious and harmful accretions. Let the external pomp of the Catholic Church be replaced by a new worship, inward, simple and spiritual."

Thus said the German reformers. Doubtless their protest had its historical justification in the corruption, formalism and sensualism of the religion as presented by the papal church. Again, it is beyond question that the religious conception of the reformers, fundamentally was not lacking in truly useful, great and venerable elements. But the radicalism of their criteria and methods failed them. The spiritual values of fifteen centuries of Christian life were neglected; the authority of the universal conscience of Christianity was disregarded and the individual reason became supreme. German reformers aimed at a more direct and inward relation between God and man; but, in pursuing their aim, they lessened the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ideal of the Christian Church as being a body, a kingdom, and gave origin to the fatal tendency to empty Christianity of its historical content and vitality. By replacing the complete revelation of universal Christian conscience and life with the fragmentary experience of each soul, they shook the fundamental principle of the solidarity of the Christian family. Thus Protestantism, which by its founders was intended to be an inward and deep religion, became an individual, rational and free religion. The negative and destructive results of the criticism of Straus, Baur, Ewald, Ritschl, Wellhausen, Bleek, Nitzsch, Harnack, and other German theologians and scholars are the legitimate fruits, in due season, of the principles laid down by the German reformers of the sixteenth century. Finally, Protestantism was to be an austere religion, which by emphasizing such doctrines as predestination, justification through faith alone, and the free grace of salvation would fill the heart of man with an intense faith, a holy trepidation for the salvation of his own soul, an absolute trust in God; and it ended in becoming a chillingly inhuman religion.

Yet, in spite of all its faults and limitations, no unprejudiced man can deny that the Protestant conception implies an intense awakening of conscience, a deep concern with spiritual problems, a need to make religion a personal reality.

But Christianity, as conceived by the reformers of the sixteenth century, was possible only among German people. Protestantism is, above all, a conception in harmony with the physiognomy of Teutonic race.

German peoples are quite as peculiar in respect to their physical structure as in moral character. Climate,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

surroundings and other natural elements made Germans a simple and grave people, devoted to the family and domestic life, endowed with a deep religious sentiment, and ardent lovers of spiritual freedom. In the German people the faculties of reason and intellect predominate rather than those of fancy and sentiment. They are cold, reflective, deep, tenacious and energetic. They love to be absorbed by their own thoughts, and have, accordingly, a mysterious and gloomy temper. They are pessimistic in their conceptions, rigid in their taste. They are pre-eminently philosophic and critical. The fact that some Germans have been able to raise themselves to the heights of the most abstract idealism cannot disprove the positive character of Teutonic race. Again, Germans are phlegmatic, yet capable of deep spiritual emotions and moral discipline. They are given to gluttony, drunkenness and various other excesses, yet, at the same time, are disposed to self-denial and sacrifice and loyal to moral principles.

Such is the physical and moral character of the German race. The faithless and cruel Prussianism of the Bismarcks, Hohenzollerns and Hindenburgs has altered and deformed its features, yet the Germany of Luther, Durer, Bach, Leibnitz, Goethe and Schiller, Beethoven and Wagner, in brief the real and genuine Germany, is human and warm and tender.

The German reformation, so deeply marked by rationalistic principles, individual methods, austere outward features, and, moreover, implying a lively religious sense as well as a great love for spiritual freedom, was the natural emanation of German psychology and character. As the art of Durer and the music of Bach, so the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

religious conception of Luther is the peculiar expression of the German race.

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Even among the Anglo-Saxons, religion was a reflection of the character of the people. If we analyze this people we discover the religious and moral ideas which underlie their soul. In England the severity of nature, the stubborn character of race, the liberty of institutions and other physical, psychological and ethical elements brought about strong and vigorous manners, an intense sensibility towards duty and self-control, and an unflinching loyalty to moral law. The Englishman is a deeply religious man, a Christian in his reason and practice. While at the root of the French soul lies the tendency to sociality; of the Italian's, the sentiment of beauty; of the Englishman's, the idea of duty. The Englishman is moral rather than psychological or metaphysical. He is occupied and preoccupied with the ethical elements of philosophy. To him religion, rather than emotion, is law, discipline, morals. The Englishman is practical in education as well as religion. He is, moreover, remarkably sober in his mental disposition and psychologic habits. His sense of moderation leads him almost instinctively to avoid the extreme tendencies and radicalism of the German.

One may give many instances of the essentially religious character of the Anglo-Saxons. Glance at the literary history of England. On studying English literature one feels that the people who produced it cannot be but deeply religious. It breaths religion. Englishmen whose genius stamped such manifest traces in the field of art, as well as of science, were men of faith.

In fact, Bacon, the founder of modern scientific meth-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ods, pours out his religion in prayers to God, worthy of the pen of St. Augustine.

The writings of the most illustrious English thinkers of the seventeenth century, as Burton, Thomas Browne and Raleigh, are impressed with the genuine spirit of faith.

It was the inspiration of faith that raised the genius of the puritan Milton to the loftiest heights of art. Newton, the founder of modern physics, concerns himself with religious studies and comments on the Apocalypse. Clarke, a man of encyclopedic mind, scholar, mathematician and philosopher, is also a theologian. Chillingworth, Addison, Paley and a great many other scholars, literary men and philosophers, write apologies, expositions and discussions on Christianity.

Boyle, one of the acknowledged leaders of experimental philosophy; widely known thinkers, scientists and scholars as Ray, Barrow, Bentley, Warburton and Berkeley; as well as prominent writers, such as Swift, Johnson and Richardson employ the power of their genius to confute Collins, Tyndall and certain other irreligious men.

Do we wish to proportion the width of English religiousness? Let us listen to Burke, the new Cicero, who, before the parliament, anathematizes with fiery words the French revolution, Rousseau, Voltaire and the other free thinkers who prepared the way to it. With a not less solemn tone Pitt, in one of his famous parliamentary speeches, denounces French irreligion and declares that Englishmen could not treat with an atheistic nation.

Going on, we discover that the most famous novelists, De Foe, Richardson and Goldsmith, in writing their works, aim at moral ends.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Samuel Johnson, the great literary critic, was a man of deep faith and severe piety. Like Burke and Pitt, he was greatly scandalized by the irreligion of Rousseau and Voltaire.

William Cowper was so intensely pious that he thought himself unworthy of going to church, or even of praying to God. The muse of Campbell and Wordsworth was sincerely Christian. Walter Scott, the creator of the historical novel, was full of faith and animated by the purest moral principles.

A further instance of the religious genius of English people is afforded by the fact that the skepticism and incredulity of Shelley roused such an indignation that he was expelled from the university and his father refused to see him.

Again, we see the novels of Dickens, Thackeray and almost all the great English novelists to have a moral purpose. As to Dickens, the following quotation from one of his letters may throw light on his faith:

There cannot be many men, I believe, who have a more humble veneration of the New Testament or a more profound conviction of its all-sufficiency than I have.

The writers who, like Hume and Gibbon, rejected the Christian faith, the pagan poets, like Shelley and Keats, the skeptical, as Byron, are comparatively few. The literary annals of England are, on the whole, religious annals.

If, then, we turn our consideration to the Church of England herself, and examine her life, her history and features, we shall have a still more luminous instance of the religious genius and spirituality of the English soul.

We do not need to dwell upon the great part that Eng-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

land played, both preparing and working out the Reformation, in the sixteenth century. The same religious spirit which was then fully at work and gave us such admirable monuments as the King James translation of the Bible and the Prayer Book, continued to express itself under various forms also in the following ages.

The great theological movement of the seventeenth century, within the Church of England, is but a form of the deep English concern for religion and its problems. The school of Richard Hooker and other famous theologians who, at Elizabeth's death, had already vindicated the sound teachings of the Church of the Apostles and Fathers, as well as the right of the English national church, became even stronger under the Stuarts. Andrews, Laud, Chillingworth, Taylor, Cosin, Kent and others, both with their learning and zeal enlightened the Christian world. The deep religiousness that marked the English seventeenth century is shown also in the works of Richard Baxter, the learned and saintly puritan.

Even the most skeptical of ages, the eighteenth century, can afford us a striking proof of the religious character of Englishmen. The eighteenth century was characterized by criticism, doubt and unbelief. It was the triumph of the spirit of Voltaire and his school, which had attacked Christianity with caustic wit. Yet, amidst the general decline in the spiritual activities, John Wesley and George Whitfield led one of the most remarkable religious movements known in history. Spiritual enthusiasm, and the inspiration of personal piety were marvelously revived through the length and breadth of England, and religion became once again a powerful factor in English civilization. It was also then that the religious

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

genius of Robert Raikes, the originator and establisher of the Sunday school system, set itself at work.

Then consider, in the nineteenth century, the striking movement known as "Tractarianism." While England was wholly absorbed in the solution of the most ponderous social problems, as the electoral reform, the institution of free trade, the abolition of slavery, and the consolidation of colonial power, her spiritual energies were not drowsy. From one side a strong evangelical movement, led by Wilberforce, John Venn and Hannah More revived the old puritan strictness and obtained the great triumph of the abolition of slavery. On the other hand, a small group of churchmen, Pusey, Newman, and Keble, followed by Froude, Isaac Williams, Rose, Church and some others as learned as zealous, wrought a yet more wonderful work. Under the impulse of the Holy Spirit they set themselves with noble enthusiasm to restore to the Church of England the full consciousness of her Catholic origin and mission in the world, a consciousness which had been deeply affected during the great storm of the Reformation. Such revising, or, better, perfecting of the Reformation was followed by a remarkable revival of spiritual energies, zeal for the cause of the Master, and strengthening of the corporate life of the Church. The effects of that God-inspired Catholic awakening, which has remained famous among the religious annals of modern times, are still visible in the Church of England.

Such are the Anglo-Saxon peoples and such is their soul. It is their faith that gives us the reason why their civilization was essentially religious. While the most famous periods of Latin civilization, represented by Leo X, Louis XIV and Voltaire, mean essentially but pagan-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ism, wordliness and irreligion, Queen Elizabeth, on the contrary, is the exponent of the civilization belonging to deeply religious peoples.

As the religion of other peoples, even so that of Englishmen was strongly influenced by their physical, psychological and ethical structure. The mind, faculties and habits of the English people are so deeply reflected in their spiritual conceptions and relations as to constitute a quite peculiar type of religion.

Doubtless, the most decisive phase in the religious life of Englishmen was the Anglican reformation, whereby the fathers of the Church of England, though careful in preserving the essential principles of historic Christianity, substituted for the crystallized and corrupt religion of the papalized medieval church a purer, more reasonable and adaptable faith, replaced a purely formal theology by practical morality and re-affirmed, against the Roman claims, the rights of the early national churches.

We have hinted at moderation, as being one of the leading characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon people. We see this characteristic reflected in their mental as well as religious attitude. Moderation is indeed the outstanding feature of Anglican reformation. The fathers of the Anglican reformation, though agreeing with the continental reformers on a general reforming purpose, yet followed a course of their own, in the pursuit of the common end. Endowed as they were with a great sense of discretion, in which German reformers lacked, they realized a fatal danger in allowing themselves to be drawn by their own individual views and tendencies. They looked, accordingly, for guidance to something more universal and objective than their private conscience; the experience of historical Christianity. While the re-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

formers of the continent, eager to break with the past, were inaugurating a quite new religious experience, Anglican theologians were looking intently to primitive Christianity. In the convocation of 1571, the priests were enjoined, by a canon, "to teach nothing but what is agreeable to the doctrines of the Old and New Testament, and which 'ancient fathers and Catholic bishops' have collected out of that said doctrine." Thus the light of the primitive, pure and apostolic Christianity shone gloriously from the Anglican reformation.

A great many Italian writers (and among them Gaetano Negri) seem strongly disposed to reproach the Church of England with the fact that she kept a great part of the doctrines, ritual and practices of the Roman Church. They would have liked a more thorough and radical reform. It seems to them as if Anglicanism stopped midway and did not complete its work. But they are greatly mistaken. They misunderstand the ideal entertained by the Fathers of the Anglican reformation. They fail to realize that the Anglican Fathers, unlike the reformers of the continent, conceived the Christian Church as a "divine and living organism," and, accordingly, were careful in preserving the continuity of its life, in order to insure the legitimate development of its future.

CHAPTER IV

VARIANCE BETWEEN PROTESTANTISM AND THE LATIN SPIRIT.

LATIN peoples, as a whole, cannot comprehend Protestantism. If we analyze the interior structure of the Latin race, we realize that the most profound differences exist between it on one side and the Teutons on the other. The mind, spirit, in brief, the psychologic form of the Latin has nothing or very little in common with the German.

To become fully convinced of this truth one ought not to look at the French people, for they are the least typical among the Latins. When one thinks of France, his mind is naturally led to recall the splendid display of a sumptuous court and a brilliant society which gave fashion to Europe. France is generally spoken of as the country of wordliness, teacher in the art of good manners, conversation and eloquence, arbiter in politeness and elegance. That is all.

People commonly fail to think of the tragic furies of the eighteenth centuries. The French are usually considered as the gayest and most comic people in the world; yet they have suffered the greatest tragedies of history with an admirable fortitude. They seem thoughtless, yet they have been able to effect the greatest revolution of thought and life known throughout all time. They seem frivolous, worldly and pleasure seekers; yet, when they wish, they know how to be as sober and temperate as any other people in the world. They can, if need be, find within themselves an immense moral strength, a spirit of

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

self-sacrifice inexhaustible. The Frenchman is brilliant, rapid, bold, eloquent, rhetorical; but he knows, when he will, how to be solid and grave. He is impulsive, ardent, going to the extreme; yet he is also capable of common sense, moderation, and self-control.

Behold the Frenchman as revealed to us by the world-war. His patriotism, his courage and heroism and, above all, his spirit of devotion to duty and of self-sacrifice has astonished the world. Ancient Greece and Rome have but little to compare with the sublime spectacle of France in the present war. French soldiers have been the living walls against which German hordes have beaten in vain for three years and a half. It is France that has borne, more heavily than any other of the allied nations, the brunt of the German assault upon mankind. That France, which, in 1799, took upon herself the fate of Europe, is now again bearing the burden of the world's destiny. She is suffering, bleeding, agonizing in order that freedom and social faith may survive in the world. Yes, France is dying today for the salvation of the human race!

The French character is one of the most varied and complex of human phenomena. The Frenchman seems to be the fusion of the peoples of both North and South Europe, Latins and Anglo-Saxons blended in one. He is at once a thinker like the German, a moralist like the Englishman, and an artist like the Italian. He is a bit of everything.

What a mystery indeed is the French soul! On one side the worldliness and court finesse of Moliere and, on the other, the puritan severity of a Calvin and a Pascal. The eloquence and rhetoric of Bossuet and the subtle analysis of Descartes. . . . The imperialism

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

of Napoleon and the inexhaustible thirst for freedom of Voltaire and Rousseau. . . . The exuberant Catholicism of Chateaubriand and the stern Protestantism of Guizot. . . . The fervid enthusiasm of Michelet and the passionate hatred of Taine. . . . The uncompromising ultramontanist of De Maistre and the religious liberalism of Dupanloup, Lamennais, Maret, Montalembert, Lacordaire and several others; and in our times the clinging to traditional religion of Veuillot and Brunetiere, the revolutionary modernism of Loisy, Houtin, Laberthonnier, Le Roy, Paul Sabatier, and the liberal Protestantism of Reville and his school.

The French soul is as complex as is French history. Think of the great Revolution, of Jean d'Arc, Saint-Barthelemy, Marat, the Crusades and Saint Louis and of Abelard! Think of Voltaire, Rousseau, Saint Vincent de Paul, the Terror, Victor Hugo, the rock of Solferino, Boulanger, Saint Simon and Fourier!

The history of France, even in its single events, strikes us with contrasts. Consider the Revolution. Nothing was more hideous and cruel than it; yet, it was, at the same time, one of the greatest and most sacred pages in history, for it was from amidst its follies and tragic furors that the fundamental charter of European liberties sprang. The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, by proclaiming the principle of free examination, had prepared, it is true, the nations for the conquest of political liberties and civil equality; but it was only a remote preparation. The revolutions of Geneva, Holland, and England were very successful in hastening the establishment of the political rights of humanity; yet it was the Revolution of 1789 that actually brought about the greatest of all achievements. For it

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

not only conquered the political rights for all the citizens, but also the equality of civil rights and suppressed all the medieval privileges and abuses. It marked the real end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the new times. Liberty today would not illuminate all civilized peoples without the fateful 1789.

Such antitheses of the French soul express themselves in art and thought, as well as in religion. But in the last they are perhaps supreme. Doubtless the French are the most religious, nay, the only religious people among the Latin nations. The religious genius of the French people is clearly shown by the keen interest taken by that nation not only in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, but also in all the religious problems and controversies which arose in the course of the times. During the seventeenth century and a part of the eighteenth France was in the heat of the Jansenistic struggle. Not only theologians famous for their stern principles, integrity of morals and deep scholarship, as Nicole, Arnauld and others, engaged in the struggle, but even philosophers and literati, Pascal and Racine, entered the field. The French Jansenists proved, indeed, the most terrible hammers of the Jesuitical dogmatic, morals and social polity.

At the same time the Gallican Catholic Tillemont (who had been educated by the Jansenists of Port Royal) wrote the sixteen volumes of his invaluable "Memoires," a history of the first six centuries of the Church, prompted by the most liberal spirit.

Coming to more recent times, we see the Frenchmen leading the modern movement of liberal Catholicism. The most zealous apostles of the alliance between Christianity and liberalism came from France. Think of the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

vehemence with which the Abbe Gratry, in his great "Letters Against the Papal Infallibility," denounced Roman errors as impairing the treasure of the Catholic faith.

At the sight (he writes in his second letter) of this audacity and this power of falsehood, introducing itself into theology, I can understand that all those who do not take in the whole of the questions should be seized with giddiness and cry out: What then can we believe now? What becomes of the bases of the faith?

Among the Roman Catholics, who, even before the dogmatic promulgation of infallibility had opposed the absolute authority of the pope, there was none stronger than the Abbé Chatel, who dared to found and propagate a French Catholic Church, disavowing the papal supremacy.

Then think of Lamennais, putting forth to the men of the nineteenth century the ideal of a great religious revival as the necessary condition of the regeneration of the peoples. He sought the highest Church authority, not in an infallible pope, but in the universal consent of all Christians. He foreshadowed the birth of the Catholic democracy and may be truly regarded as the spiritual parent of modernism, conceived in the tragedy of his religious condemnation.

Again, think of Bishop Maret, who, long before Tyrrel and Loisy, discovered the fundamental principle of modernism, namely, the evolutive character of Christian truth and life. He accordingly demanded a new interpretation of Catholic dogmas, more especially of those relating to the hierarchy. Also of the vigorous war waged against the Ultramontanes by Père Hyacinth

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Loyson, of his ex-communication by the pope, his persecutions open and concealed, and the foundation in Paris of the independent "Eglise Gallicane."

Even those among the neo-Catholics, who did not follow the radical evolution of Lamennais, excite our warm sympathy. This is true of Montalembert, whose enthusiasm for the liberal movement and persistent, tho unsuccessful, opposition to the acceptance of the dogma of papal infallibility, are too well known.

Also of Lacordaire, whose last pathetic words, "I die a penitent Catholic, but an impenitent liberal," characterize his whole life.

Then recall to the mind the strong plea of the illustrious Abbé Houtin in behalf of a vital adaptation of faith to its modern environment. With prophetic accent he presaged the crisis with which soon or late the Roman Catholic Church has to be confronted, stating that the religious thought and conscience of Christians move forward in spite of the Vatican.

The pope, he says, has before him something which he will not be able to arrest. This is the popularization of history. With this penetration of historical knowledge among the people, the crisis will become unceasingly more radical and more terrible.¹

Behold Jean Reville, championing Liberal Protestantism and sharply arguing about the groundlessness of the hope of a reformation of Roman Catholicism "with the pope."

¹The Crisis in the Catholic Church (in "The Crisis Among the French Clergy"). Transl. from the French by F. T. Dickson, David Nutt, London, 1910. The paragraph continues as follows: "Those Roman institutions, the Index and the Inquisition, can

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Catholicism, he cries, may perhaps reform itself, but it can only be from the root, against Rome and not with Rome.

Hear Paul Sabatier, who, with encouraging words, warns men not to lose faith in the final triumph of the new religious ideas.

The pope on the one hand, he writes, and the modernists on the other are the representatives of two mentalities, of two civilizations, confronting each other. Which of the two will prevail? To state the question is to answer it. Life and youth must necessarily prevail.

no longer shackle the liberty of the press. Sapped in its historical bases, the Roman Church will, like other orthodoxies less marked, be obliged to become a small sect, or to adapt herself to new religious conceptions. But can the Roman Church thus adapt herself? The Church which declares herself infallible, which imposes as dogmas so many historical errors, which utters her anathema on all attempts at a new interpretation—this Church of Rome, is she not petrified? Can any one hope for another line of conduct on the part of the Popes of the future? There have been learned Popes, tolerant Popes, even sceptical Popes. What attitude have they taken toward the truth? What attitude have they taken toward charity, and especially toward the important question of the reunion of Christianity? As a great historian has said, "It is not always the same pope, but it is always the same Papacy."

The Abbé Houtin wrote, besides the work mentioned, "*La Question Biblique au XIXe siècle*"; "*La Question Biblique au XXe siècle*"; "*La Controverse de l'Apostolicité*"; "*Américanisme*."

Houtin tells us that Leo XIII tried hard to regain the great orator for the Church, while he was passing the winter 1896-97 at Rome. But the attitude of the conscientious priest was uncompromising.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Then think of Loisy, the deep critic and historian, and, at once, the warm believer, and consider how boldly, how fearlessly he has led the war between authority and criticism, official tradition and historical scholarship.

Add to all these illustrious figures the names of Maurice Blondel, Laberthonnière, Le Roy, Abbé Duilhé, Mgr. D'Hulst,¹ Portal,² Le Morin, Viollet and several others who have so bravely engaged themselves in the tragic struggle of the modern conscience against the immovable and stagnant Catholicism of the Vatican, and you will realize the deep concern of Frenchmen with religion and its problems.

¹Mgr. D'Hulst is doubtless one of the greatest figures in the history of modern Catholicism, a man eager for a purification of the Christian faith from the traditional errors which deturp it. He is the acknowledged leader of the French Catholic clergy who have been pleading for a more free and liberal critical method in the Biblical and historical field. His noble ideal purposing to make the Catholic Institute of Paris a center of scientific studies was enthusiastically shared by the Abbé Duilhé de Saint-Projet, Mgrs. Duchesne, Loisy and others. In 1893 the Jesuit Father Brucker gave the alarm. He and his colleagues made the pope believe the new method of Scriptural interpretation championed by D'Hulst to be destructive of the foundations of the Church and leading to individualism, the source of all heresies. Following the papal Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus," D'Hulst was obliged to convoke the professors of the Institute and ask their unreserved adhesion to the papal doctrine concerning Scriptures and their exegesis.

²Abbé F. Portal was the chief editor of "La Revue Catholique des Églises," which was published until the close of 1908. For several years Portal took part (under the pseudonym of Dalbus) in the question of the Anglican Orders, whose validity he strongly maintained. In 1908 he was deprived of his office of Superior of the House of Saint Vincent de Paul, in Paris, on the order of Rome, which holds his doctrine rather unsound.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Those also who, like Bishop Mignot,¹ Prof. Duchesne,² Prof. Batiffol and others have reputation for unimpeachable orthodoxy in the faith, couple with their broad and sympathetic Catholicism a deeply religious spirit.

Even the conversions of Brunetiere, Huysmans, Coppee and Rette, who, in recent times, passed from the bitterest hostility to religion to the greatest enthusiasm for Roman Catholicism, bear witness to the living religious sentiment of the French soul.

When one thinks of the great part played by Frenchmen in the past history of Christianity, he becomes easily convinced that they are destined to exert a decisive influence even on the Christianity of the future. It is to the French that we must look for the advent of a more liberal Catholicism. There is but little to be expected from the other Latin peoples, because of their lack of religious sentiment and interest.

One of the determining causes of French religiousness

¹Mgr. Mignot, Bishop of Albi, is one of those prelates whose frank and honest acknowledgment of the modern crisis of Catholicism has been regarded with strong suspicion by the Ultramontanes. In his funeral oration over Bishop Le Camus (1906) he expressed himself thus: "The Christian population turns toward us, their masters and fathers in the faith, asking us to explain their religion to them and to justify our own. They speak the language of the time in which they were born, of the world in which they live, of the knowledge which they have acquired; they ask us to speak to them in their language. They ask this: and shall we not reply?"

²Although Mgr. Duchesne, through his evasive and equivocal method, has received a different fate from that of Loisy, yet the theological conclusions, which logically can be drawn from his statements, are not less radical than those of the great Modernist. His views (expressed in the famous "*L'Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*": Paris, Montemoing, 1906) are, on several points, at variance with the traditional doctrine.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

must be found in the fact that he is more a northern than a southern, more in touch with the Anglo-Saxons than with Italians and Spaniards. The Frenchman is Catholic, but he is, among Catholics, the most apt to understand Protestant conceptions and to sympathize with them. If that were not true one could not explain how France gave birth to such stern Protestants as Calvin, Rabelais, Pascal, Malebranche, Arnauld, Nichole, Guizot and many others.

None, among Roman Catholic peoples, are more independent of Rome than are the French. They are truly national, Gallican Catholics. The whole history of the French Church is marked by distinctively national characters. No branch of the Catholic Church has asserted more strongly its right to autonomy than the Church of France. The Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX; the part played at the Council of Trent by the Cardinal of Lorraine and the other legates of the king; the declaration of 1682, made under the influence of the eloquent Bossuet; the vigorous opposition by Bishop Dupanloup and the French prelates to the dogma of infallibility, witness in a striking manner the independent spirit of the French.

French Gallicanism has had moments of shining glory and prestige. It was it that promoted the reforming Councils of Constance, Basle and Pisa. It threw upon the church an undying luster through its Filaster, Peter d'Ailly, Gerson and Bossuet. It has been the most sound fraction within the Church of Rome; and had it not been overcome by the Ultramontanes, it would, most likely, have brought about a reform of the Church. France led all other nations in opposing the invading and delinquent action of the Papacy and she would have almost surely overwhelmed it had not the political inter-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

est prevailed over the religious, beginning from the sixteenth century.

* * * * *

Leaving aside the French, let us look, instead, at the more typically Latin peoples, the Spanish and Italian. In the Spanish we have a people overflowing with imagination and enthusiasm, romantic, chivalrous, caring exclusively for appearance, extraordinarily pompous and ceremonious. As in life, so in literature and art, the Spaniard is exaggerated, inflated, affected. No type is more apt to illustrate the character of the Spaniards than their greatest writer, Cervantes, the fantastic, humorous and eccentric author of "Don Quixote." Another genuine personification of the Spanish soul is Lope de Vega, who, while a young boy, was a volunteer, then a passionate lover, a wandering knight, a soldier of the Armada, and finally a priest and officer in the holy office, full of religious fervor and ardent with mysticism.

However, to see the Spaniards in their true light, we need not to look at the individual personalities. It is enough to glance at their civilization. As the Italian Renaissance was but paganism and corruption, so the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which marked the summit of Spanish civilization, meant substantially emptiness of thought, vanity of external pomp and decay of the inner spirit. The Italians, by subordinating the ideals of religion and liberty to those of art, turning exclusively toward beauty and voluptuousness and neglecting the cultivation of moral character, declined and were enslaved by foreign rulers. So the Spaniards, failing to keep alive the multiform human activities and the sacred ideal of liberty, were reduced under the sway of Roman religious despotism and cast themselves into the aberrations of the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Inquisition and into fanatical wars. Thus they lost their civil conscience, and, being isolated from the rest of Europe, grew weak and wicked in inertia, in ignorance and superstition. Today, while the other Latin nations, from France to the small Portugal, are arrayed against the monstrous Teutonic Kultur, Spain has isolated herself. The ancient stronghold of papalism is enjoying peace and tranquility at a time when the rest of the world is convulsed by the most terrible crisis in the annals of history. But the latter are the convulsions of life; the former the peace and tranquility of the grave. Spain is dead; she has no energy to offer on the altar of the most sacred human and social ideals.

If now we turn our consideration to the Italians, we will be enabled to form a still clearer idea about the Latin races, for the Italian may be held to be the most representative of Latin nations.

Nature in Italy shows itself in the fullest of its splendid profusion and magnificence. In land and sky, along the shores of her Mediterranean Sea, there breathes an air of beauty, poetry, refinement, and languor. The natural features of the Italian peninsula invite to voluptuous ease rather than to action; and combining with other elements, as nearness to and contact with Greece and East, and the despotism of the various foreign rulers, have determined among the Italian peoples an unnerved character, an idle life and effeminate manners.

Unlike the Germans, in the Italians predominate fantastic and sentimental faculties. They are warm-natured, impulsive, and extremely voluble. While deep beliefs and strong affections lie under the impassive surface of the Englishman, the animated Italians, on the contrary, mostly lack depth of emotion. They are gay,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

exuberant, lovers of pomp and magnificence. They care more for appearance than for substance. And then it seems that nature itself makes them poets and artists. Indeed the instinct of the beautiful with which they are endowed is remarkable, and the tendency they feel to cultivate and express esthetic elements could not be stronger. It is such innate sentiment that gave Italy the primacy of genius and taste in the world. Again, the worship of beauty, connatural to Italians and, in a less degree, to all Latin peoples, explains various features of Roman Catholicism, for instance, the exaltation of Mary the Virgin.

Doubtless to account for the exaggerated worship of Mary in the Latin Church there were some causes of theological order, the chief of which is to be found in the peculiar relation of Mary to the Godhead in the Incarnation of the Word, which draws her nearer than any other creature to God and makes her truly "full of grace" and "blessed amongst women." Yet none will deny that other elements besides this concurred to glorify the Virgin. In Mary, together with the idea of womanhood to which the religious instincts of mankind are ready to pay worship, in a more or less refined manner, the Latins associated the concept of "motherhood," including in itself all that is most lovely, tender, gentle, sweet and touching on earth. Virginity, mysteriously coupled with maternity, completed the superhuman features of Mary. She became a supreme type of beauty, grace, poetry—a type which touched not only the soul of the people, but impressed also the most powerful geniuses, as Dante. Mary, in conclusion, is but the idealization of moral beauty, in harmony with the esthetic psychology of Latin peoples.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

What is said of Mary is true also of the Saints, in general, with this difference: that the former answered to a natural artistic impulse, while the latter answered more particularly to a spiritual tendency. The veneration of the Saints has become an important part of Catholic worship, because both the consciousness of the Catholic Church and the religious soul of the Catholic peoples have felt an almost innate need for it. It seems that the Saints, with their intermediary power and office, are something necessary to their devotional instinct. They love their Saints, they delight in praising their holy lives and celebrating their feasts. They honor them, because they believe, nay realize, that God Himself has loved and exalted them. They pray to the Saints, they ask all kinds of favors of them, both spiritual and temporal, because they believe that Christ acts and shows His power through them. They have recourse to the Saints for the reason that they feel that the Saints lead them to Christ and realize that they find Christ in them. They think of the Saints, and, in doing so, they, pilgrims of the earth, feel the heavenly Jerusalem nearer. Being Christians of the militant church, they find it quite natural to seek inspiration and holy courage in the captains of the noble army who have fought the good fight and now triumph victorious in glory.

Is all this tribute paid to the Saints a mere superstition? The rationalistic Protestantism says so. Doubtless it is easily mixed with superstition. Sometimes, if not often, it becomes even vulgar; yet the spirit which pervades it is really and genuinely Christian. It springs mostly from hearts animated by faith and becomes consequently an act of true piety. Protestants hold the honor given to the Saints derogatory to the honor due to

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

God, yet Catholics with reverence salute in the Saints nothing else but the gift of God Himself. They look at the Saints, because they behold Christ reflected in them. Protestants, whose religion seems to be all in the brains and none in the heart, denounce the Catholic attitude toward the Saints as idolatrous and trivial; yet Catholics feel through their Saints the very touch of God. In the "Communion of the Saints" they find themselves in communion with God; joining the Saints they join the King of the Saints.

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But Italians, being an eminently artistic race, could not be, at the same time, a religious people. In fact, Italians have not proved themselves religious throughout the course of the past ages, nor are they today.

Italians, the most richly gifted with vivacity of wit and splendid imagination, are the poorest and weakest of all peoples, religiously. They are confined by the taste for harmonious forms, and are drawn more strongly toward the ideal of esthetic beauty than that of truth and goodness. Their culture is productive of estheticism rather than of spirituality.

While the Teutons disdain appearance and are eager for facts and reality, Italians look exclusively for the former and are not concerned with the latter. The Anglo-Saxons love to analyze their own spirit and harmonize it with the ideal of moral perfection, Italians indulge in the contemplation of the external world and delight in the spectacle of elegant forms. Anglo-Saxons erect duty into a supreme factor in human life; Italians prostrate all ideal models before that of art and pleasure. Carlyle despised most, among the literati of all nations, those of Italy, because of their being essentially artists,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

which meant to him that the source of their art is only the sentiment of form. He thought that, as with the Greek, so the Italian writers and poets did not know any beauty beside that of healthy vigor, pleasure and voluptuousness. Carlyle was right, to a very great extent. Indeed, the ideals of religion, of moral character, of duty and the like are only secondary features in the soul of the Italian. Conscience has a very limited power over him. He is almost incapable of voluntary discipline and moral austerity, and takes life at its easiest, satisfied to enjoy.

It has been said that the best way to know a people is to look at them in the culminant stage of their civilization. What that civilization is, such are those who produced it. Well, then, let us consider the Italian Renaissance. What was it but the working of a magnificent and harmonious genius towards the worship of beauty and pleasure? The substance of the Italian Renaissance was paganism revived in thought, art and life.

In Italy, remarks Joseph Spencer Kennard,¹ no popular movement which betrays the soul of a whole people can be traced to a purely religious motive, as can the Reformation in Germany. No popular leader has owed his authority wholly to religion. Francis of Assisi appealed to a poetic pantheism and Savonarola represented an ethical ideal and a political principle.² All this skeptical

¹"Italian Romance Writers": Brentano's. 1906. New York.

²The remark of Kennard, with regard to the pantheism of Saint Francis, needs to be rightly understood. Certainly, it would be simply absurd to assert that the Saint of Assisi did ever imagine to identify the totality of being with God, or to deny the personality either of God or of man. The one-substance pantheism of Spinoza, the materialistic pantheism of Strauss or

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

tolerance and this semi-pagan worship of beauty in its many aspects comes to the modern Italian as a tendency. In the higher classes this tendency is to accept scientific positivism, and, in the lowest, the tendency is to superstition.

Do we wish to understand Italian people still better? Let us consider some of the manifestations of their spirit, art, literature, and music. Each one of these tells us that their spiritual instinct is very weak and their moral sense almost undeveloped. Glance at their literature. In vain we would seek in it that religious element which is so abundantly manifested in the history of English letters. If we analyze the greatest Italian literati what do we find? The lofty muse of Petrarca is more familiar with Plato than with Christ. Boccaccio, the father of Italian prose, couples with the highest pathos the coarsest licentiousness. His "Decamerone" is as free from restraint and as sensuous as if Christianity had not intervened between the fourteenth century and the Greek mythological world. Poliziano, like all the Humanists, is paganly sensualist both in mind and heart. Ariosto, wholly absorbed by the epic spirit of chivalry, is not concerned at all with religion and morals. In his "Orlando Furioso" heaven is quite concealed behind the sepulcher and God is hidden from the world. Macchiavelli, the prince of Italian statesmen, exalts paganism over Christianity. Guicciardini, the Florentine historian, formulates the

the idealistic pantheism of Schelling and Hegel were quite foreign to the theosophical conceptions of Francis. Yet it is true, on the other hand, that nature spoke to him with such a tremendous force of God and he beheld the image of the Creator so luminously reflected in the creatures that his mystical enthusiasm seemed almost to represent God as the all-person, absorbing the world into Himself.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

principle of individual egotism. Cellini, the bold writer and unrivaled goldsmith, does not acknowledge any other moral authority than his own will. He is a bully, a libertine, almost a brigand and assassin.

Coming to modern times we realize that faith and moral sentiment are absent from Carlo Goldoni, Vittorio Alfieri, Ugo Foscolo, Giacomo Leopardi, Giuseppe Giusti, and the other literary geniuses. The great tragedian Alfieri, for instance, is fiery, disinterested, often generous; his passion for freedom is as strong as his hatred for tyranny, but he is at the same time a seeker of love adventures and hopelessly perverse. Foscolo is a vigorous, independent, tempestuous character; as a writer and patriot he is undoubtedly a noble figure, but morally he is extremely weak. Sceptic, the slave of physical as well as intellectual passions, he led a faulty and extravagant life. The great and unhappy Leopardi is compelled by his bodily sufferings to be negative, pessimistic and selfish. He ignored eternal order and scoffed at the noblest human virtues, affections, and aspirations.

Where is, then, the religion of the Italian spirit? The conspicuously Christian characters are exceptions: Dante, Michelangelo, Tasso, Mazzini and a few others. The men controlled by a deep sense of duty and a sincere Christian morality, as Giuseppe Parini and Niccolò Tommaseo, the truly religious spirits as Alessandro Manzoni, the candid and innocent figures, as Silvio Pellico, the devout Catholics as Giacomo Zanella, are rare cases. An utter lack of appreciation, or even positive contempt for religion and Christian morals characterizes the greatest part of contemporary literature and poetry. The majority of the modern Italian writers have either cast aspersions upon or undervalued Christian religion.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

It is generally known how bitterly Giosue Carducci, the greatest of the modern poets of Italy, has denounced the papal Church. To him the Papacy is "the shame of the centuries, risen from the wicked embrace of Peter and Caesar." In his ode, "Aspromonte," he further wishes that "liberty, avenger of human thought, had thrown down the false chair of the successor of Peter." But unfortunately Carducci (and so most of the intellectual classes) have fallen into the serious mistake of confounding the Catholicism of the papal Church with the Christian religion; hence his vituperation of Christianity. To him Christianity is synonymous with spiritual tyranny and social decay. In his poem, "Alle Fonti del Clitunno," he sings:

Rome no more goes forth in triumph, for a Galilean of blonde hair has ascended the capitol; into her arms he has thrown a cross and said: "Bear it and serve." . . . Farewell, Semitic God, crucified Martyr, thou crucifiest men and defilest the air with thy sadness.

Again, if Carducci, the national poet, is a free thinker, Gabriele D'Annunzio is, in his turn, the poet of pagan refinement and sensuousness. In his "Laus Vitae" he wishes that "the cross of the Galilean may be thrown into the dark recesses of the capitol and His reign in the world ended for ever."

O, Galilean, he adds, thou in thy paradise art worth less than Ulysses in Dante's *Inferno*. The anchor which descends into thy waters is of no avail to us. He who puts his trust in thee does not value himself.

Mario Rapisardi sings social revolution. To him religion is but a "venal mystery," and in his ode, "XX Set-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

tembre," he expresses the ardent desire that "Italian people of the third Italy dispel the phantoms of religion and reign in the place where once Peter and Caesar reigned."

Giuseppe Chiarini, in his preface to the work of Carducci, writes thus:

We are not Christians any longer, we are pagans. Our paganism is not only the revengeance of earth over heaven, not only the abolition of the whole medieval darkness of Christianity, but the serene and fully satisfied possession of earthly life.

Yet again. On the poems and writings of the gloomy Arturo Graf there is not a ray of Christian sunshine. The audacious paganism and immorality of the first poems, "Posthuma," of Olindo Guerrini, are well known. The sorrows of the poor and social injustice compel Madame Ada Negri to utter the word of desperation. The abundant vitality of the poetry of Aurelio Costanzo, Giovanni Marradi, Enrico Nencioni, Alfredo Baccelli, is mostly lacking in religious inspiration. The poets of hope and faith, as Antonio Fogazzaro, Enrico Panzacchi, Madame Alinda Brunamonti, are only drops within an immense ocean.

Likewise the novelists and writers Giulio Barrili, Salvatore Farini, Edmondo De Amicis, Luigi Capuana, Giovanni Verga, Marco Praga, Carlo Butti, Alberto Mario, Luciano Zuccoli, Ugo Oietti, Madame Matilde Serao, Madame Grazia Deledda, are more or less wanting in religious ideality. The religious, ethical, and mystic elements which so strongly influence English, French, and Russian literature are quite foreign to their world. Fogazzaro is the only novelist who seems aware of the existence of a religious reality, the problems of which

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

are closely connected with the destinies of man and mankind. Italian literati, as a whole, are realists, often indeed marked by pronounced atheistic tendencies.

Thus it is not an exaggeration to affirm that the devotion and mysticism of the Italian characters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are like an oasis in a vast desert. Christian faith, which has so strongly influenced the thought and national life of other peoples, for instance, the Anglo-Saxons, has no place in either the individual or collective life of the Italians. They themselves lack faith; and that is the simple reason why faith has no place in their literature.

Not only literature, but also other productions of the Italian genius are lacking altogether in religious inspirations. If we only glance at Italian art we realize again their religious deficiency. We need only compare the ideal of man as expressed by the greatest representatives of Italian and German-Dutch art, and we will readily observe the diversity of the two races and their religious-moral spirit.

What a gulf indeed between the psychico-moral characters expressed in the art of Raffaello and that of Durer and Rembrandt! Raffaello typifies perfection and harmony of form. His figures are as serene as a Greek goddess and, like the same, exuberant with life, healthy, fresh, soft and voluptuous. They diffuse round themselves a strong breath of earthly and corporal happiness. They seem as if they were satisfied with their own beauty and health, absorbed by the present life and its delights, not preoccupied with anything that might disturb serenity of spirit or poison the pleasures of time.

It is not so with Durer and Rembrandt. Their art speaks a more rude and sincere language. In their Ma-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

donnas and portraits we find little to charm the eye. Their bodies are lacking in the symmetry of the Italian master. There is not in them his olympic serenity nor his freshness of flesh, and their faces usually appear thoughtful, sad, and as if oppressed by life.

Where is, then, the secret of the beauty and greatness of their art? It is wholly internal, not external. It is in the expression more than in the forms, in the soul rather than in the body. That art reflects the deep genius and strong character of Northern races. There is in it the soul of peoples overwhelmed by metaphysical and spiritual problems, preoccupied more with the inward than outward world, valuing intellectual and moral perfection more than physical beauty. Durer's and Rembrandt's figures breathe not pleasure, but strength, not happiness, but labor and virtue. Thus, while Raffaello loves art as a form of the "beautiful" and a means of a purely esthetic enjoyment, to Durer and Rembrandt, on the contrary, art is one of the forms of "good" and an instrument of spiritual perfection. Raffaello's ideal is the man beautiful, happy, thoughtless; Durer's and Rembrandt's is the man honest, laborious, pensive, believing in the good.

We shall reach the same conclusion if we look at the Italian soul as reflected in their music. Among arts none is so expressive of a people as their music. Music is capable of giving form to those sentiments and affections which the word can express only imperfectly. Music is the channel through which flow the most intimate thoughts, the deepest emotions of the individual and, consequently, of his race. It springs from the innermost soul of a people.

Well now, what is the music of Scarlatti, Pergolesi,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Cimarosa, Paisiello, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and other Italian masters? It is only melody, plastic beauty, form. Out of hundreds of Italian musicians Palestrina, Cherubini, Spontini, Rossini (only at times), Verdi and Boito are, perhaps, the only ones who possess a real artistic inspiration and are prompted by true artistic ideals. It seems as if Italians are unable to free themselves from the matter and formalism and attain to the heights of the ideal. Seldom has their music a high moral significance and incarnates an idea. The inner psychological world, the realm of the spirit which Beethoven so powerfully expressed, are foreign to them. Their fancy is brilliant, their creative impulse very fecund, their melodies flow clear, fascinating, often elegiacally touching, but, with a few exceptions, they are lacking in truth, deepness, and force. Their melodic richness fails, very largely, to be coupled with truth of expression, strong dramatic sentiment, poetic ideality, delicacy and chastity of inspiration, and technic knowledge.

How different, indeed, German music, which, with Handel, Bach and Haydn is an art of faith and of spiritual combat; it is inner sentiment and thought, philosophical meditation and poetical psychology with Beethoven, Weber, Schubert, Schuman, Liszt and Brahms. Italians could give the world such masterpieces of gaiety, gracefulness and brilliancy as the "*Barbiere di Siviglia*," "*Norma*" and "*Lucia*," but they were quite unable to conceive the mysticism, reflexiveness and austere grandeur of Bach's passion music, the ideal force and spirituality of Beethoven's symphonies and sonatas, the transcendent romanticism of Wagner's operas. Don't expect them to understand the infinite sadness of Beethoven's "*Moonlight Sonata*," or the indescribable pathos of his "*Sonata*

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Appassionata," or the heartrending grief of his "F Major string quartet." In brief, German music is the art of intellectual and spiritual expression, whereas with Italians it is, more or less, a sensual appeal.

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The absence of any serious Italian devotion is further shown by the extreme lack of appreciation of spiritual values and ethical influences on the part of the modern historians, thinkers and sociologists. The attitude of Italian writers toward the problems of the spirit is marked by the deepest indifference. Within the last fifty years a considerable number of Italian thinkers set themselves to investigate the various phenomena and facts of human conscience, but they put entirely aside those concerned with religious sentiment as though they were of no importance at all.

Most of the historians have considered any religious treatment useless or, at least, indiscreet, classifying it among the matters for theologians. A great many others have made history consist wholly of politics, and have quite neglected the religious element, it seeming to them that religious ideals and their manifestations in history have no relation to politics.

Look, for instance, at the dealing of Italian historians with the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Indeed there is none who can fail to realize the immense importance, both religious and political, of the new German movement. It was one of the most profound and solemn revolutions in the history of human thought and conscience. Religious freedom, national conscience, in brief, the whole modern life, dates from that great event. Raffaele Mariano did not exaggerate when he wrote that the Reformation, together with the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

coming of Christianity, constitute the most supreme and decisive moments in the life of the peoples, throughout history. Historically speaking, moreover, the Reformation filled the whole sixteenth century. The rivalry between the dynasties of Austria and France, the rise of the independent Netherlands, the civil wars of France, the ascendancy of England, the decay of Spain, the servitude of Italy, the new greatness of Germany, the spirit prompting modern culture, in brief, all the salient facts of modern history, rise and flow from the politico-religious revolution of the 16th century.

Yet the history of the Reformation has been but little studied in Italy. With the exception of the book by Ricotti,¹ the notes by Comani,² the work of Cappelletti,³ and a few other short essays and lectures, there is nothing to be found in Italian literature illustrative of this great and eventful era. Rightly Masi⁴ remarks, that it seems as if Italian learned men get angry in having to talk or write about it, as if it were but an indiscreet curiosity. The flights, exiles, prisons, tortures of so many illustrious persons are to them but pitiful stories, on which one can even be silent. Strange to say, Italians, if they wish to know something concerning the history of the Reformation, are compelled to look for it in works by foreigners, who mostly write polemics in behalf of Protestantism or Catholicism, and very seldom judge the matter from purely historical and objective criteria.

What we have said about the history of the Reforma-

¹"Della Rivoluzione Protestante": Loescher. Torini. 1874.

²"Sulla Riforma Protestante": Appunti. Bergamo. 1892.

³"La Riforma." Bocca. 1912.

⁴"La Riforma in Italia": Conferenza (La Vita Italiana nel 500). Treves. Milano. 1894.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

tion holds true for religious studies and the history of Christianity in general. There is almost no trace in Italy of the religious activity of England, Germany, and the United States. Life and things spiritual meet there with an appalling indifference. Ruggiero Bonghi, Raffaele Mariano, Alessandro Chiappelli, Baldassarre Labanca, and several others, have deeply deplored the neglect of religious study in Italy, where this study is so urgently needed, not only for the sake of modern culture, but for the spiritual life and liberty of the country. Writing in the "Cultura," Bonghi remarked in the most pathetic strain, that in Italy those who have read the whole New Testament in the Italian language are no more than twenty; those who have read it in Latin are scarcely ten, and those who have read it in its Greek original, including the clergy, are perhaps only five. . . .

Raffaele Mariano, fifteen years ago, rightly complained of the fact that at the University of Naples, with its 5000 students, it was impossible to gather one per cent of them, in order that the teaching of the history of Christianity might be imparted with a certain appearance of decency.

While in Germany and England, writes Prof. Chiappelli, the background and the intonation of scientific conscience is substantially religious, among us Italians two capital errors (not the least of the causes of our moral decay) delay not only the solution, but even a serious and scientific conscience of religious problems. On one side the rigid intolerance of those who do not think nor desire that religion should be studied with scientific method, and, on the other, the light indifference of many, who, despising all forms of religious

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

life, do not see its historical and ideal importance and, accordingly, obstruct the slow, yet fecund conquests of historical science in this noble field.¹

Again he says:

It is strange that while every cultured person in Italy would not deem it quite permissible to ignore all that which has been said on the historical reality of Beatrice and Laura, very few are those who care to know, even only as a literary news, how many are the writings from which the Canon of the New Testament results, or to have a precise knowledge of what historical criticism has said about the authenticity of the Letters of St. Paul, or the relations of the Synoptical Gospels to the fourth one.²

Mariano adds:

Energy of thought, rigorous logic, straightness and sincerity of soul seem to be today appreciated less than anything else. This lack of appreciation extends to a pure and living religion, which, not wishing to disregard the exigencies of intellect, appeals to philosophical reason and theological research. We Italians, both of the clergy and laity, abhor any enlightened form of religion more decidedly than other peoples.

As Straus once designated us, we still are swinging between superstition and incredulity, except that very often we welcome both at once. Between those whose religion consists in placing themselves blindly in the hands of the pope, or, at

¹"Nuove Pagine Sul Cristianesimo Antico": Firenze. Le Monnier. 1902.

²"Saggi e Note Critiche": Bologna. Zanichelli. 1895.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

most, in believing in the miracles of Madonnas and Saints, to whom they bring votive gifts in order to obtain graces, and those, on the other hand, who believe in nothing but what concerns the material world and their own appetite, and blindly swear by them, the difference, if we examine it well, is rather in the grade and the mode, than in the substance.

It is true, however, that in recent times have not been wanting in Italy, in both the laity and the clergy, men who have taken an active part in the modern revival of religious thought. None can deny that Father Savi,¹ Monsignor Talamo,² Father Semeria, Rev. Prof. Minocchi, Don Romolo Murri, and, among the laity, Gaetano Negri, Raffaele Mariano, Antonio Fogazzaro, Prof. Alessandro Chiappelli, Prof. Baldassare Labanca, to cite only some, have done well in religious study and enthusiasm.³

¹Father Savi, a Barnabite priest, with an honest and sensitive Catholic conscience, has been one of the first Italian clergymen to acknowledge and appreciate, without too many reservations, the value of historical criticism. In his book, "*Delle Scoperte e Dei Progressi Realizzati nell'Antica Letteratura Cristiana*" (Siena. 1893), he rightly rebukes his fellow-believers for their cursing critical science and keeping far from it as though from a devilish work. In his "*La Dottrina Dei Dodici Apostoli. Ricerche Storiche*" (Roma. 1893.), he has shown an extraordinary maturity of studies and wealth of knowledge.

²Among the Italian clergy who, in recent times, distinguished themselves in the field of knowledge, a notable place belongs to Monsignor Talamo, author of several valuable works of historico-philosophical and philosophico-religious character. "*Le Origini del Cristianesimo e il Pensiero Stoico*" (Roma. 1892.) is doubtless the most powerful of his books.

³Even Don Romolo Murri, who, in the second and third volumes of his "*Battaglie d'Oggi*," calls the attention of the readers

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

It is gratifying to note the solicitude and, what is still more remarkable, the independence and honest liberty of mind with which some of them have pursued all kinds of studies biblical, ecclesiastical, even political and social, thus showing to the Italian clergy the highest ideals to which they should rise. The fact that they are Roman Catholics makes their discussion of the most delicate questions, such as the rights of science, the present conditions of Christian life, the origin of Christianity, and the synoptic question, all the more remarkable, when breadth of view and critical ability were formerly unknown in the field of papal Catholicism.

This is not all, for, in due time and place, when it is meet and right, they have not been afraid to appeal to the authority of the most suspected among the authors, as Reuss, Keim, Hingelfel, and even Renan and Harnack. What is still more singular and enigmatic is the fact that, before the merciless crusade of Pius X, a

to the deficiency of Italian religious culture and the falsity and other defects of Italian Christian life, hints, in his fourth volume, to an initial religious awakening in Italy. He records, first of all, the efficacious work of his scholarly friends, G. Seme-ria, S. Minocchi and A. Chignoni. Then he mentions A. Fogazzaro, A. Conti and R. Mariano, who, in various ways and with different purposes, have called the attention of the public to the religious problems. Of P. Genocchi, E. Battaglia, G. Bonaccorsi, Fracassini, the two Mercati and E. Vercesi he says that they have discussed, on behalf of the public, matter of Biblical and religious literature and have attempted to revive piety. He adds that a group of young literati, among whom Zanetti, Rizzi, Mattei-Gentili, Barbieri, Nediani and Misciatelli, besides recalling the century and work of Saint Francis and talking of Christian art, have acquainted the public with the religious poetry of Salvadori and Salustri. Finally, he pays a warm tribute to other unnoticed priests who are working and writing with the souls of ascetics and the sacrifices of heroes.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

great many of their books came forth sealed with the "Imprimatur" of the most holy censors of the Curia! The tragic end of these few apostles, who have so nobly and generously attempted to restore to Italy culture, conscience, and life, is known. Yet it is our firm conviction that not all their seeds of a renewed spiritual faith have been sown in vain.

To go back to the point, the above-mentioned clergymen and a few other names which could be added, form only a nucleus of scholars who stand out as an oasis in the midst of the immense desert of the ignorance of Italian Catholic clergy. Doubtless a small band, however valiant it be, is quite inadequate to counterbalance the inaptitude of the great majority. The wanting, on the part of the Italian clergy in general, of spiritual virtues, and of such degree of education as is necessary to exert a beneficial influence and regulating authority over the ethical forms and the relations of social life is a sad, deep wound which the activity of a few men, scholarly, serious, conscientious, morally sound and robust, does not suffice to heal.

What is the cause of such a spiritual lethargy in which the Italian clergy languish? According to Raffaele Mariano, the principal reason for it is to be found

in that rigid and empty Catholic unity which we Italians exalt as a supreme prerogative and a divine privilege; whereas, it is that same unity which, in suppressing by force every difference and every contrast, has necessarily led to stagnation, drowsiness of the spirit, extinguished a living and sincere faith and dried up the roots of energies, both ideal and practical.¹

¹"Il Cristianesimo nei Primi Secoli": Opere (Vol. IV, p. 364).

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

How humiliating and discouraging, in this respect, is the comparison between Italy and France, a nation usually called unbelieving! . . . Religion and its history form a great part of the intellectual and scientific activity of France. The "College de France," the "Faculte de Theologie Protestante," the "Ecole des Hautes Etudes," and even the "Faculte des Lettres" of Paris, where religion is taught, bear witness to this. The several religious reviews, among which the universally known "De l'Histoire des Religions," published by Jean Reville; the Protestant "Revue Chretienne," and other Catholic reviews show a living French interest in religious culture. Thus, in spite of Voltairrianism, Frenchmen do not fail to appreciate the constructive and renewing power of religion. There is, in France, a life of soul and an activity of faith and of religious thought.

To what is such a French awakening due? Again it is Raffaele Mariano who answers:

It is due to the fact that France has never, as has Italy, shut herself entirely within the papal and Jesuitical pale. Albigenes and Calvinism, Huguenots and the organization of the Reformed Church, Jansenism and the men of Port Royal, the secular ecclesiastical Gallicanism and the Protestant school of Strasburg, have been so many vehicles for the transfusion of living elements into the old religious conscience of Frenchmen.¹

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Italian unconcernedness with religion is further shown by the attitude of the modern sociologues of Italy. If we read the Italian works dealing with social problems,

¹"Il Cristianesimo nei Primi Secoli" (p. 365).

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

we realize with a painful sense the complete absence of the religious element. The modern Italian sociologists, as usual, keep pleading for the uplifting and strengthening of the character of the popular classes, for correcting their habits, exciting and cultivating the noble and generous sentiments of the heart, giving back to the multitudes the dignity and independence of life and like things; but what are the means suggested to the attainment of this end? Schools, intellectual education, technical knowledge, science, art, and the like. That is all. There is no concern with the moral elevation of classes, and the most efficient element in it, viz., religion. It seems that nobody even suspects that religion is the key for the solution of the social problem.

It is equally so, for instance, with Pasquale Villari, the author of "*Lettere Meridionali*," in which he presents an appalling spectacle of the social degradation of Southern Italy. To free the oppressed and initiate social justice in Southern Italy, this is the ideal that the illustrious historian proposes to the nation. But the means discussed as leading to the high goal consist in practical measures, all, more or less, of an external and material nature. Education, labor, industrial and commercial activity are treated at length. But all reference to religion is lacking. In vain one would seek to learn what the writer thinks of the relation of religion to the social problem. There is not a word pleading for a religious renewal, a reform of the spirit and morals, a building up of the conscience and character of the masses. Villari acknowledges, with Tocqueville, that two things make people accomplish great deeds: religion and patriotism. But then he hastens to add that religion may be said to be almost extinguished in Italy, that it is either

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

superstition or a traditional habit, not a living faith. There he stops, without occupying himself further with the matter. He is satisfied with stating that Italian religious sentiment is entirely corrupt, yet he does not tell us anything as to the necessity or convenience of correcting and strengthening the religious sense of the Italians. He expresses no opinion as to whether or not it is worth while for Italians to purify their religious conscience and reconstruct it in the integrity of its moral elements. He resolves the religious problem in Italy by denying the existence of a religious conscience altogether. Thus, he seems to raise the state of the moral dissolution of conscience in Italy to the degree of a system, a theory, a rational doctrine.

Still more blind than Villari to the light and power of the religious ideal is Filomusi Guelfi. In his various philosophical and social writings he shows himself quite unwilling to attribute any social influence to a reform of religious conscience. He thinks that religious sentiment concerns only the individual conscience and does not touch society.¹ He proposes, moreover, the classic reconstruction of the State, as a fact capable to deliver Italy from all difficulties. He pretends that the State, through its political action, can substitute the religious ideal and, accordingly, create within the nation the consciousness of a historical mission. Such ideas are shared by De Zerbi, who further maintains that religious belief is not only destitute of any influence over the life of the peoples, but that religion and civilization are radically opposed.

Now let us listen to the gospel preached by Nicola

¹See "Giornale Napoletano di Filosofia": April, 1885.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Marselli.¹ He thinks that it is quite useless to talk any longer about religion in Italy, and pleads that Italians, stopping forever the various disputes on faith, theology, Christianity, either materialized or spiritualized, papal or reformed, old or new, should plunge into and strengthen themselves in the pure and fresh springs of science and philosophy. Pledged to new conquests of scientific spirit and wholly immersed in the progress of philosophical work, Italy, he says, shall attain to new destinies. While Filomusi Guelfi substitutes for religion patriotism and State, Marselli substitutes for it science; both, however, consider religion as something of negligible value.

Still more radical than Marselli is the Hegelian Pasquale D'Ercole.² In the first volume of his work, "Contradictions and Groundless Demonstrations of Theism," he sets out to show that all the proofs in behalf of the existence of God and the incorporeity and immortality of the soul, upheld by Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, and the modern theists, are fallacious. According to him, Christian philosophic theism, in behalf of which the fathers of the Church wrote their inspired homilies, the doctors of the Middle Ages sharpened at the whetstone of a rigorous school their syllogisms, and some Italians, as Rosmini, Gioberti, and Mamiani, took their pens, is only a dead and buried theory. The only thing which is living today is the potency of the Hegelian idea.

We come to the same conclusion if we analyze the other productions of the present intellectual movement

¹"La Scienza Della Storia": 3 volumes; Loescher. Torino. 1883.

²"Il Teismo Filosofico Cristiano": 3 volumes; Loescher. Torino. 1884.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

in Italy. Thus in the "*Vita Moderna Degli Italiani*,"¹ by Senator Angelo Mosso, we may read masterful chapters on the complex activities of modern Italian spirit and life, but seldom do we meet anything as to the religious nature of Italians. Whatever is concerned with religion is excluded from the field of treatment and discussion as a superfluity.

Loria, Ferri, and a few other sociologists have, here and there, in their works, faced the problem of Christianity and Catholicism, but mostly with a phenomenal superficiality. As to Labriola, he attempts, in the three volumes of his "*Saggi*," on the materialistic conception of history, an explanation of the origins of Christianity, addressing himself to the study of German Protestant criticism, especially of the Tübingen school.

Likewise Guglielmo Ferrero, Roberto Ardigó, Benedetto Croce, Enrico Morselli, great as they are in the historical, philosophical and critical field, have failed, more or less, to give religion and spiritual life the importance which they deserve.

* * * * *

A further striking example of Italian lack of religion has been afforded by the present world-war. In other countries, in England, for instance, and so also in Belgium and France, the most tragic of all wars has been accompanied by a remarkable revival of religious sentiment. We have witnessed, in England, a great national mission of repentance and hope; we have heard both bishops of the Church and statesmen pleading for a spiritual preparedness of the nation and for the necessity to fight egotism, sin, and all forms of evil more ardently than the political and unspiritual enemies. The leaders

¹Milano. Treves. 1906.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

of the church and state have sought victory rather in the faith than in arms. Their appeals have not been made in vain. We have read about men and women of all classes responding generously to the call and trying to draw nearer to God, in the spirit of penitence and renewed Christian devotion.

Even in France, there have been encouraging signs of a renewed interest in things religious. Since the beginning of the war the Roman Catholic Church has been presenting to the French soldiers and people a more vital and evangelistic message than ever before; and indeed the French have welcomed it.

Nothing like that has taken place in Italy. The simple people of the villages have had recourse, it is true, to the Virgin Mary, the Saints, the Holy Souls in Purgatory, but the nation, as a whole, has not been religiously moved. The men of the upper classes have shown themselves united in the natural religion of the fatherland and duty, but not in the cult of the supernatural. Supernatural religion has utterly failed to show itself alive.

Naturally all this, besides bearing on the lack of faith on the part of Italians, evidences also the utter spiritual and moral inefficiency of Roman Catholicism upon the national life of Italy.

* * * * *

Such are the Italians, as we have seen them in their history, literature, art, and thought—a people religiously indifferent and morally weak. No wonder that they are not and cannot be reached by Protestantism. The conversion of an individual man, or of a people, from one form of religion to another presupposes a great strength and seriousness of character as well as a deep interest in

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

religion and its problems, an intense zeal for the culture of spirit and the deepening of faith. This the Italians do not possess.

The absence of vigor in Italian character is strikingly evidenced by the literary life of the Italian Renaissance.

"The literature of the Italian golden age, as Symonds¹ says beautifully, seems to have been produced for and by men who had lost their ethical and political conscience and had enthroned an esthetical conscience in its room. Their religious indifference is deadlier than atheism. Their levity is worse than sarcasm. They fulfil the epigram of Tacitus, who wrote: "*Corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocant.*" Yet no one has the vigor to be angry. Ariosto is playful, Aretino scurrilous, Alamanni peevish, Folengo atrabilious. The purely religious compositions of the period lack simplicity and sincerity. The "*Sacre Rappresentazioni*" are sentimental and romantic. The Christian epics of the Latin poets are indescribably frigid; the "*Laudi*" are either literary or hysterical, like Benivieni's praise of Christian madness. The impertinent biographies of Aretino pass muster for genuinely pious work with Vittoria Colonna. It is only in some heartfelt utterance of the aged Michelangelo, or in the holy life of a Saint Antonino, or in the charity of Luca della Robbia's mission to young Boscoli, or the fervor of Savonarola's "sermons" that here and there the chord of real religious feeling vibrates (Second volume, p. 519).

¹J. A. Symonds: "*Renaissance in Italy.*" 7 volumes; London, 1875-1886.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Again the great English scholar says:

Throughout the whole art and literature of the epoch is diffused an agreeable air of quietude and acquiescence, a glow of contentment and well being which contrasts strongly with the tragic circumstances of a nation crumbling into an abyss of ruin. . . . The prevailing mood of artists and writers was capable of sensuous depth as in the "Baiae" of Pontano; it was capable of refined irony as in the smile of Ariosto; it was capable of broad laughter as in the farce of Bibbiena; it was capable of tenderness as in Aretino's "Ragionamenti" and the Florentine "Capitoli"; but it was incapable of tragic passion, lyrical rapture, intensity, sublimity, heroism" (p. 521).

A true realization of the levity of the Italian spirit¹ has been reached also by the French Paul Sabatier.

Italians, he writes in the preface of the *Life of St. Francis*, see the forms and outlines of men and things more than they grasp their spirit. What they most admire in Michelangelo is gigantic forms and noble and proud attitudes, while we, on this side of the Alps, understand his secret thoughts, hidden sorrows, groans, and sighs. . . . Do not ask them to understand the pathos of things, to be touched by the mysterious and almost fanciful emotion which Northern hearts discover and enjoy in the works of Rembrandt.

¹Alfieri and Gioberti, however, considered Italians a strong people. Also Sen. Mosso maintains that "the strength of will is the psychologic characteristic of Italian people." His idea is shared by the French Alfred Foullie. (*Esquisses psychologiques des peuples Europeens.*)

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

The statements that Italians are lacking in vigorous character, as well as in strong religious and moral principles, hold true in spite of the fact that Italy produced men as Dante, Michelangelo, Bruno and Mazzini, in whom one does not know whether to admire more vastness of mind or strength, nobility and greatness of purpose. Such men are not the representatives of the Italian race. They are not the common expression, but the rare exception; not the Italian people, but the Italian great solitaires. They all were profoundly out of harmony with their times.

The character and faith which Italians have not manifested during the periods that marked the heights of their civilization, they did not acquire afterwards nor do they possess it today. The Italian peoples present themselves more or less spiritually deficient. They have undeniably the forms of Christianity, but are wanting in its spirit. Their religious sentiment is very superficial. They lack, strictly speaking, a spiritual consciousness. Most of them who frequent the churches are not led there by a living faith, a deep persuasion of the spirit and a genuine religious enthusiasm, but by the force of habit. There are not a great many to whom religion is an inner conscience of moral duty and a principle of spiritual life. Generally speaking, the faith of the masses is mixed with unconscious sentimentalism, with superstition and gross materialism. They make the essence of religion consist of conventional formalism and merely external practices. The statements made by some writers about there being Roman Catholic peoples "without religion" is, to a great extent, true of Italians, as it is of Spaniards, the Mexicans, the Latins of South America and other peoples.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

That "spirit and truth" of which Christ spoke to the woman of Samaria, which is the soul of Christian worship, is absent from the religion of four-fifths of the Italians. This absence explains why the influence of their religion upon their lives is usually so weak and poor. It is quite astonishing, the facility with which the majority of those Italians who call themselves Catholics will pass from the church to the wine-shop, from the festival and procession in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary and other patron-saints to the basest cursing, to drunkenness, strife and even homicide; from the holy water to theft, "stiletto" and black hand. The degeneration of religious sentiment in the popular classes (which is in proportion to their intellectual debasement) reaches such a low ebb that thieves, brigands, and evil-doers of various kinds will ask the Virgin Mary, through special prayers, to prosper their business. The prisons of the United States are crowded with Italian and other Catholics of like type, who furnish a frightful percentage to criminality.¹

¹In the year 1916 the population of the United States was estimated at 102 millions, of whom 16 millions (that is, 15 per cent) were Roman Catholics. According to the Official Penal Statistics of the same year, out of 65,772 prisoners in the United States 31,513 (that is, 47.9 per cent) were Roman Catholics. This means that the proportion of Roman Catholic criminality to Roman Catholic population is higher than 3 to 1.

Again. In 1914, 1511 prisoners entered Sing Sing Prison of New York, of whom 839 (that is, 55.22 per cent) were adherents of Roman Catholicism. If one takes in consideration the fact that the Roman Catholic population of New York is only one-fourth of the total, he realizes that the percentage of criminality among the Roman Catholics is simply striking. Of the said 1511 prisoners 349 were Italians, 134 Russians, 73 Austro-Hungarians, 50 Irish, 16 English, 6 Norwegians, 6 Swedish, 4 Danish, 3 Dutch, 2 Swiss.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Turning then to the cultured classes, their religious sentiment is exceedingly lukewarm, if there be any at all. This accounts for the fact that religious indifference and apathy toward the problems of the spirit are so widely existent among them.

Castelar summarized the religious conditions prevailing in the Latin world thus: "Those who think neither pray nor believe; those who pray and believe do not think."¹ Indeed, there is a great deal of truth in the remark of the Spanish scholar.

It seems incredible, yet it is but too true, that Italy, which gave birth to Leo, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Gregory VII, Benedict of Nursia, Francis of Assisi, Catherine of Siena, and Savonarola lost entirely, during the Renaissance, her religious and spiritual conscience, never to regain it. The people whose religious genius created the Catholic Church and, through the Catholic Church, saved Christian faith in the Middle Ages, became afterwards the very people who was to appreciate less than any other the value of Christianity and to feel least its power. Ever since the sixteenth century, rare sparks have been bursting from the cold ashes of Italian religious life. Nowadays in vain would one look in Italy for traces of that living faith which inspired Gregory the great and produced that ardent mysticism which inflamed the soul of Francis of Assisi. During the nineteenth century intellect awoke in Italy; but the "Risorgimento" did not affect conscience. That divine force in man as well as in society still slumbers.

¹Emilio Castelar: "Old Rome and New Italy." Harper's. 1876.

CHAPTER V.

PROTESTANTISM AND LATIN PSYCHOLOGY

YET it is not only the lack of spiritual culture that prevents Latin peoples from understanding Protestantism. It is, as we have already pointed out, their own psychology that repels them, almost instinctively, from it. They cannot help it.

We have seen that Protestantism is the religious expression of the German race. It is a type, a system of Christianity elaborated by the psychologic, ethic, and social features of Germanism. Protestantism, saturated with a free, critical, rationalistic spirit, austere in its principles, rigid in its expression, is the genuine product of the German soul. It is, in a word, German Christianity par excellence.

And this is the reason why Protestantism, if it satisfies the religious instinct of Germans, does not and cannot equally satisfy that of Latins. Protestantism is too much of an intellectual system to appeal to the Latin masses. Multitudes of simple, uncultured men and women find it impossible to make themselves at home in a religious society that makes the acceptance of an elaborate rationalistic creed the condition of membership. Baumgartner tells us that Schiller used to regard Catholicism as a religion for artists, and Protestantism as a religion for druggists. Schiller meant to point out the process of subtle reasoning, analyzing, and arguing which the mind and conscience of a Protestant is called to endure. Indeed Protestant Christianity could be defined as a *scientific religious system*: it is, consequently,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

incomprehensible to Latins, who, being naturally imaginative, are apt to understand Christianity rather under a form of a *religio-esthetic drama* or a *poetical mystery*. They, more than in the written Bible, wish and need to read and know Gospel truths in the symbolism of worship. To them the best books of religion are not elaborate theological treatises, but signs, music, sensuous features.

Sentiment is the supreme element in the religion of a Latin. To the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon peoples religion is, first of all, an intellectual conception; whereas Latins are naturally disposed to consider it rather as "sentiment." To them religion is and should be something which is felt, not spoken of. It seems as if the German worships by his brains, the Latin through his emotion.

While a German, the more he reasons, the more he feels the power of religious truth upon his soul; the Latin, on the contrary, feels himself more strongly influenced by the mysterious elements of Christianity, by what is more intrinsically supernatural in religion. The German, in his aspiration to God, is rather impatient of the shadows of mystery, of intermediary powers, symbolical forms, ritualistic features; he wishes to reach the Eternal Reality directly. Mystery has no fascination over him; it is rather the contemplation of truth that wins and subjugates him. On the contrary, it is the incomprehensible that effectively touches and excites the religion of the Latin. It is not the critical, but the mystical, sacramental religion that exercises a real and effectual power over him. Symbolical representations and ritualistic forms, which Teutons and Anglo-Saxons regard as hindering the uplift of the soul to God, are the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

very steps which lead the soul of the Latin to the same God. Symbolism speaks to him with a tremendous force of the inaccessible God and the supernatural world. Thus we could say that the faith of the German and the Anglo-Saxon soul is more mature and strong; that of the Latin's is more simple and ingenuous.

Such sentimental form of Latin religion has been determined principally by the psychological structure of the Latin peoples. But there are also other elements which account for it, among them the intellectual conditions prevailing in Latin countries. Sentimentalism among Latin Catholics is, to a great extent, but the reflection of their intellectual and civil conditions. The high percentage of illiteracy in Latin countries is generally known. This lack of intellectual and social education, besides explaining the predominance of the sentimental element within Roman Catholicism, with its tendency to superstition, accounts also for some other facts connected with the Roman Catholic system. The Roman Church, for instance, is usually charged with being hostile to a wider circulation of the Bible among her people. The charge is true enough, yet very few seem to realize that a popular circulation of the inspired Books would be most unpromising, on account of the inability of the people to comprehend and appreciate it. Of what use, indeed, would it be to put the Bible in the hands of the people when 75 per cent would not know how to read it, and perhaps no more than two or three in each thousand would know how to rightly interpret it? How can the advocates of the so-called Evangelical religion expect to see the Latin peoples approach for themselves to the genuine and inexhaustible source of religious truth, when they are unable to do so?

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

On account of their intellectual state the Latin masses are prevented from reaching a personal comprehension of religious truth. They need a guide to lead them by the hand; they cannot help relying on the teaching of some one else. Here is the reason why it can be truly said that the Bible of Roman Catholics is the word of the priest. Here is also the reason why the Roman Catholic masses do not appreciate the enjoyment of Protestant individual freedom. They are more apt to receive the light of truth and partake of spiritual life by submission to authority than through personal liberty.

Among Latin peoples the principle of authority is more strongly rooted than that of liberty. The great tradition of authority, inherited from the Roman Empire, has been kept noticeably alive among all Latin peoples, except the French. They have been accustomed, through centuries of oppression, religious as well as political, to reverence authority, to submit even to the worst forms of despotism. This sentiment of authority, almost, so to speak, natural to the Latins, accounts for the great stress which they usually lay on the hierarchial elements of Christian Church. It seems as if the Latin possesses the instinct of rule, government, and organization. He cannot, for instance, conceive a Christian Church without a strong hierarchial system, any more than he can think of a soul without a body.

Going back to the predominance of emotion in the religion of the Latin soul, one cannot fail to realize that it is a dangerous condition and one likely to lead to credulity, superstition, and fanaticism. But the predominance of intellectual interests in the religion of Germans and Anglo-Saxons is not less free from abuse. It leads to rationalism, an evil equally, if not more, injuri-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ous than emotionalism. Rationalism holds exactly the same relation to the Protestant conception of Christianity, as superstition does to the Roman Catholic. The perfect ideal of Christianity, subjectively considered, cannot result but from the equilibrium between the intellectual and emotional faculties in the spirit of the believer.

* * * * *

No wonder then that Protestantism, a genuine German emanation, is an absolute discordance with the spirit of the Latin race. Protestantism, in its doctrinal maxims and its moral principles, its worship, its whole atmosphere, is a form of Christianity too austere for the Latin temper. The pure religion of spirit, for which it pleads, is something unsuited to them. Not to take into account the other features of Protestant religion, look only at its worship: such worship so rigid, so cold, appealing so little or not at all to the senses and sentiment, can it meet the exigencies of the warm, exuberant, artistic Latin nature? Absolutely no. Michelangelo, the sovereign artist and deep thinker, was perfectly right in asserting one of the reasons that prevented Latins, and more particularly Italians, from approaching the ideal of Protestant reformation to be their excessive love of art and their eminently artistic instinct.

Therefore, when Protestants, considering the various features of Roman Catholicism, for instance, the pompous ritual of its worship, cry out against what they consider superstition, fanaticism, and idolatry,¹ they are

¹Idolatry, according to Carlyle ("Heroes and Hero Worship"), is to be found, more or less, in all religions. He premises that "Other religions are, like Christianity, forms of universal religion. They have all had a truth in them, or men would not have taken them up. They are an existence, more or less, troubled by the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

right only to a certain extent. What to them appears as a monstrous deformation of Christianity is often the natural expression of the religious sentiment of the Latin peoples. It was just this error which led Luther to his exaggerated invectives against the Latin race and civilization. He regarded the Southern civilization with the eyes of a man of the North and, consequently, greatly overdrew the representation of its vices. It is the same misunderstanding which nowadays induces a great many Protestants to go beyond the truth in the consideration of Roman Catholicism. They judge it by an over-subjective and one-sided criterion, and in consequence it appears to them wrong in all and each of its features.

A bishop of the Anglican communion, while spending a few days in Rome, entered the church of Ara-coeli, mystery, august and infinite, which is at the bottom of the universe." Then he continues: "Grand Lamaism, popery itself, interprets after their fashion, the sentiment of the divine; therefore, popery itself is to be respected. While a pious life is capable of being led by it, let it last as long as it can. What matters if people call it idolatry? Idol is a thing seen, a symbol. It is not God, but a symbol of God. Is not all worship whatsoever a worship by symbols, by idols or things seen? The most rigorous Puritan has his confession of faith and intellectual representation of divine things, and worships thereby.

"All creeds, liturgies, religious forms, conceptions that fitly invest religious feelings, are, in this sense, idols—things seen. All worship whatsoever must proceed by symbols, by idols; we may say, all idolatry is comparative, and the worst idolatry is only more idolatrous.

"The only detestable idolatry is that from which the sentiment has departed, which consists only in ceremonies learned by rote, in mechanical repetition of prayers, in profession of formulæ not understood. The deep veneration of a monk of the twelfth century, prostrated before the relics of St. Edmund, was worth more than the conventional piety and cold philosophical religion of a Protestant of today."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

where, during the week following Christmas, little children use to address the Holy Child, lying in a beautiful crib, with lovely poems, and then reverently kiss His image. Sometimes grown-up persons join the children in the devotion. The Anglican bishop who witnessed such a spectacle wrote afterwards that he could not help being strongly impressed and moved. He openly confessed that homage so rendered which at another time would have been considered by him as an act of idolatry, did not appear so to him then. He added that in that moment, within the sacred atmosphere of the church, he felt quite sure that though he witnessed an act of material and gross devotion, yet it was one accompanied with such remarkable evidence of faith and emotion that it did reach the heart of God quite as assuredly as did the purest act of worship.

It is clear enough that it would be wrong to lay all the responsibility for the corrupt practices of Roman Catholics upon the church. The church is responsible, but not to the whole extent. In this connection a great truth is usually being forgotten, that it is not so much the church which has formed the peoples as the peoples who have shaped the church.

Consider, for instance, the worship of Mary, on account of which the Roman Church is so frequently and so fiercely assaulted by Protestants. That worship sprang from the very soul of Latin peoples. Mary is the creation of the people rather than of the church. The worship of Mary may lack Scriptural foundation, according to the strict rules of Biblical exegesis, but the Latin heart and imagination see and feel what is lacking in the Holy Writings, concerning the Mother of God. The divine motherhood of Mary is enough for them.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Protestants may denounce the worship of Mary as superstitious and even derogatory to God, yet Mary does touch the hearts and move the souls of the Latin peoples and will continue to bring them to her divine Son.

Should one remove Mary, the Saints and other accessories from religion, the Latins would cease to understand it. Worship, without a rich and pompous ceremonial, is to them something almost void of meaning; the church building itself, if there be not a profusion of art, to them is incapable of breathing religion and devotion; they would feel within its walls as though they were in a cold and chilly place.

I do not believe, so says Raffaele Mariano, that Italian evangelical buildings, which are so bare and cold, and which look like places of public meetings, and suitable for the discussion of worldly and commercial matters, can attract a people endowed with such a lively imagination as Italians. The fact that the excessive formalism of the Roman Catholic Church distracts and lulls the spiritual energies, by pleasing the senses and exciting fancy and curiosity, does not mean that the church buildings should lack something able to dispose souls to meditation, prayer and worship; something to make them feel that they are not in ordinary places, but in the houses of God.¹

The German can find even a meeting house venerable, bare and poor though it be, being able there or anywhere to raise himself above sensible things, to concentrate his attention upon the inward world and revive before his own spirit the idea of God. But it is not so with the Latin. He is impatient of cold lectures and meditations.

¹R. Mariano: "Il Pensiero Religioso in Italia." Firenze. 1891.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

He does not know how to dissociate himself from the exterior world. He cannot draw near God but by means that appeal to his senses and arouse his emotions.

What a German considers only as accessory to worship and at variance with it as a distraction of eyes and spirit, to a Latin, on the contrary, is a necessity. It seems as if Latin peoples are incapable of worshipping God "in spirit." It seems that without the materializing symbol they cannot raise themselves to God. Catholic symbolism, which appears so material and sensual to the Protestants, answers to an imperious need of their hearts, it is the indispensable means to their spiritual elevation.

Symonds¹ rightly asserts that:

Realism, preferring the tangible and concrete to the abstract, the defined to the indefinite, the sensuous to the ideal, determines the character of Italian genius in all its manifestations. It constitutes the true note of their art and literature. It leavened even their religion. We find it in St. Catharine's visions, in the Stigmata of St. Francis, in the miracle of Bolsena. Under its influence the dogmas of the Church assumed a kind of palpability. It was against Italian sensuousness that the finer spiritual perceptions of the Teutonic races rose in revolt, and the Italians, who had transmitted their own religious forms to Europe, could not understand the point at issue.

In conclusion, the Latin soul absolutely refuses to adore God in the manner Germans and Northern peoples adore Him. Protestantism, by which the individual is placed face to face with the Bible, without any other

¹Symonds: "Renaissance in Italy" (Vol. II, p. 614).

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

testimony or stimulus but his own conscience, or any other help than his own reason, is not made for the Latins, or, rather, the latter are not made for the former. Protestantism, saturated with rationalism and criticism, is and will always be something unintelligible, cold, repelling to peoples whose soul yearns for an ingenuous and simple faith and for the warmth of a sacramental religion. Between Protestantism and the Latin soul there is a great gulf fixed. To dream of making out of them deep and sincere Protestants is to think the impossible. It is as though one pretended that Cervantes or Manzoni wrote with the same power as Goethe; that Gioberti thought with the deepness of Kant and Hegel; that Raffaello or Velasquez painted the strength of soul and character as did Durer; that Rossini composed music as grave and solemn as that of Bach. It is as to pretend that a luminous soul of the South change itself into a pensive and gloomy being of the North.

A great many among the most prominent Latin writers and thinkers of the nineteenth century perceived this truth clearly. Chateaubriand, Montalembert, Lamennais, and others in France; Manzoni, Rosmini, Gioberti, D'Azeglio, Balbo, Mamiani, Tommaseo and the other "Neo-Guelfi" in Italy, while trying to restore the religious faith destroyed by the materialistic philosophy of the eighteenth century, saw, at the same time, the absolute necessity of not repudiating the fundamental Catholic doctrines, but only of purifying them of their superstitious elements and harmonizing them with the philosophical and social principles of the new era.

Italy, rightly said Bettino Ricasoli (an enthusiastic pleader for a religious reformation and, at once, a man with a thorough knowledge of the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Italian soul and tradition), cannot be Protestant. By wishing to make her such, we will, on the contrary, make her atheistic and increase that religious carelessness and indifference which is the worst of all evils.

This idea is not peculiar to Ricasoli; but it is shared by the most intelligent of the Latin world.

The Italian, remarks Enrico Nencioni,¹ is naturally Catholic; and when he is not, he is either indifferent or rationalistic; therefore, Protestantism among Italians has not nor ever shall take root.

And Nicola Marselli² says:

Italy is not a ground favorable to an austere and melancholic religion. Italians like a religion without harshness, picturesque and rich in coloring, artistic, spectacular, and in feasts.

Protestantism, adds the historian Comani,³ is not a doctrine to prove sympathetic to the Italians, because it is too rigid and too contrary to the external worship and to the artistic pomp which Italians love so dearly.

Finally, also the Spanish Castelar,⁴ while exalting Protestantism, yet is compelled to confess that:

It is true that Protestantism will always be repugnant to the nature of our race and the character of our history.

¹E. Nencioni: "Torquato Tasso" in "La Vita Italiana nel Cinquecento." 3 volumes; Milano. Treves. 1894.

²N. Marselli: "Gli Italiani del Mezzogiorno." Roma. Sommaruga. 1884.

³G. Comani: "Compendio di Storia." Firenze. Sansoni. 1901.

⁴E. Castelar: "Old Rome and New Italy." Harper's. 1887.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

To all these thinkers and scholars echoes Prof. Giovanni Luzzi, who, though a strong upholder of the evangelical ideal, yet recognizes that the moral and spiritual regeneration of Italy is not to be expected from a Presbyterian or Congregational Church, but only from a truly Christian "Episcopal" Church, for, the Episcopal presentation of Christianity, on account of its Catholic tradition, and its liturgy, is more congenial than any other to the nature of the Latin race.¹

What Ricasoli stated in regard to Italians, holds true also not only in relation to Latins, but also of all those peoples who, though ethnically belonging to different races, as Hungarians, Poles, and Irish, yet religiously have been identified, through secular traditions, with the Latin form of Christianity, viz., Roman Catholicism. One can perhaps destroy their Catholicism, but he cannot build in them anything else to take its place. It is easier to make them unbelievers and irreligious than to make them Protestants.

¹G. Luzzi: "The Struggle for Christian Truth in Italy." Revell. 1913.

CHAPTER VI.

LATIN REALIZATION OF THE DEFECTIVENESS OF PROTESTANTISM.

SOCIAL and religious education, which a great many Protestants urge as the necessary steps for the Protestantization of Latin peoples, would not be enough to make Protestantism acceptable to them. By being developed intellectually and spiritually they would not become Protestants.

Doubtless there are not wanting within the Roman Church persons with a deep religious consciousness, prompted by a true Christian spirit and shaped after the evangelical ideal. Yet among them those who are led to an open profession of Protestantism are very rare. There are to be found many who are, more or less, in sympathy with it: but not to such an extent as to concern themselves very much about it. They realize the deficiencies of Protestantism. Their disappointment over papal Catholicism does not make them less aware of Protestant shortcomings.

This explains how, for instance, Filippo Perfetti, the very one who had found Romanism to be a phenomenon analogous to the Islam, could proceed to weigh Protestantism and Catholicism in his balance and decide that the latter was immensely superior to the former. "On account of its subjectivity," he wrote:¹ Protestantism is immeasurably inferior to Catholicism. Protestantism cannot absorb Catholicism, because it is not organic. Catholicism, being divinely organic, is able to absorb

¹F. Perfetti: "Il Clero e la Societa." Firenze. 1862.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Protestantism, which in its essence is too spiritual and mystical. Catholicism is the man and the Church: the man in the Church and the Church in the man, that is to say, the man in union with Christ and in communion with the Saints, and Christ manifested in him."

Also Ruggiero Bonghi, the warm admirer of the evangelical conscience of Northern European peoples, did not fail to realize the shortcomings of Protestantism. He seems to have been well acquainted with the fact that Protestantism has been steadily sinking into a relentless rationalism, tending to destroy the objective content of faith. Repeatedly the great scholar and politician pointed to the phenomenon of intellectual and spiritual disintegration among the adherents of the Protestant faith.

A further instance of this Latin realization of the deficiency of Protestantism is afforded by Ercole Ricotti, the Italian historian of the Protestant Reformation. He acknowledges the greatness of the Protestant principle of free examination and extols its beneficial influence in the intellectual field; yet, at the same time, he seems inclined to consider the same principle as not strictly necessary in the religious field. He affirms that the effects of the Protestant Reformation upon European civilization were moral and indirect, rather than religious and direct, and that the immediate advantages brought by Protestantism to the religious order were scarce, and even disputable. Ricotti, who does not fail to acknowledge the historical justification of Protestantism, is, at the same time, so well aware of its radical character that he strongly pleads for a substitution of the misleading term "reformation" with "revolution." And while on the one hand he denounces papal Catholicism, on the other he does, to a great extent, agree with Bossuet in inferring

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

from the doctrinal variations among Protestant bodies the erroneous character of the Protestant system. Ricotti further admits that the exercise of the Protestant principle of free examination keeps awake and increases the spiritual forces of the individual; yet he also maintains that it is very easy to abuse it, and that its abuse leads to that blind sense of individualism which replaces traditions, written laws, venerable customs, and fails to utilize that which is great and beautiful in the past.

* * * * *

Even Raffaele Mariano, the merciless scourger of Roman Catholicism, has unmistakably revealed his realization of the defects of Protestantism.

It is a greivous wrong, he asserts, not to recognize that the Protestant principle is, in conclusion, the same principle on which Christianity itself is based, namely faith concentrated within the conscience, and the justification of man before God sought directly, not through human mediators, nor through external practices, but through faith and an interior conversion of heart and will. Thus the duty arises, for each individual, to know the truth, to penetrate deeply into it and, in a certain way, to affirm and sanction it. Unless the individual man, through his free, subjective activity, appropriates to himself divine truth in such wise as to feel it and carry it within himself as something of his own, a true Christian life cannot be formed and exist. This is essentially the life of the spirit, which neither extrinsic processes nor sensible and mechanical practices are sufficient to kindle.

The most peculiar office of the Protestant Ref-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

ormation is to have brought to light such evangelical exigence for the active participation of the believer to the religious reality. And we must be grateful to Protestantism for its having practically realized it, by establishing free individual examination.

But the reformers, in the impetus of victory, being satisfied with the affirmed liberty of the Christian soul, did not sufficiently concern themselves with the slide, to which their affirmation opened the way. It is not maintained here that they should have retaken by one hand what they had let go with the other. Free examination is so strongly inherent to the essence of Protestantism that disowning it would have been, and would still be, to Protestantism equivalent to self-destruction. Yet there was a great difference between suppressing liberty and surrounding it with the necessary limitations lest it exceed and become licentiousness and liberticide.

Evidently, if subjective liberty is essential to the believer, objective truth is far more essential to him. The word of Christ: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free" (John VIII:32) is, as His other words, divinely inspired. To be free, above all things, truth is necessary. But the fact that religious truth is destined to be made personal and subjective by the believer, does not imply that it is not, and must not be, impersonal and objective in itself. Its existence and legitimacy cannot depend on the good will of single individuals. Left to the various feelings, views and tendencies of individual

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

atoms, religious truth evaporates and vanishes. In order that truth may be imparted to the individuals as something belonging to them, nay, of their own, it must be and remain superior to and independent of themselves. Further, the very purpose of truth (which purpose consists in being, among the other things, a bond between men, a great social power and a reservoir of ideal and moral energies) tells clearly that its content, no matter under what form or by what means, must have a universal value. This implies that, beside and above liberty, there must be truth and its tradition and, moreover, an authority incarnating both; there must be an organic institution, deputed to keep the possession, even if it be only evolutive and progressive, of religious truth.

Of course, when we speak of authority, we do not mean to imply the necessity of an infallible pope. In order that the eternal words of the spirit, emanating from Christ, and the truths which, as a derivation from them, have been gradually revealed to the collective religious conscience, may be marked with such a character as to make those words and truths known and knowable to all, the living and universal tradition of the Church, manifesting itself in its organic representation is sufficient. The "*quod semper, ubique, ab omnibus creditum*," indicated by Vincent of Lerinos, as a criterion to fix true tradition, is an ancient, but not disproved, doctrine. On the basis of a divine objective truth, going back to Christ and the Apostles, and ascertained and kept by the episcopate, the life of the Christian

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Church supported itself during the early centuries.

This order of truths was not clearly perceived by the reformers. They thought that they had accomplished everything by merely pointing to the Bible. In their conceptions, religious truth finds its warrant in Holy Scripture. This is the source whence to draw the rule of truth and the model of life. In the Bible there is, moreover, the touchstone to decide whether the way in which the Word of God is announced is the true and salutary one.

On the other hand, the reformers, and, after them, all the adherents to evangelical faith, add that the Scripture, without the spirit, becomes only a letter that kills. Holding the Scriptural word as a mere external and immovable letter is inconsistent with the essence of the Gospel. Therefore the Scriptural word is never to be disassociated from the action of the spirit. It must be scrutinized in its spirit and through its spirit. Only when coupled together the Scriptural word and the spirit can exert the efficacy divinely assigned to them.

Doubtless all this sounds very true, in abstract. But a great effort is not necessary to realize that, practically, the Evangelical Church, by thinking so, made a wide opening to deviations and excesses. Certainly without the Scripture, the New Testament more especially, Christianity ceases to exist. The Holy Gospels are the foundations of Christian edifice, without which it crumbles to the earth. It can and must also be admitted that he

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

who wishes to scrutinize and comprehend the spiritual meaning of these documents cannot refuse the action of the spirit, nor undervalue it. But the unavoidable process which has followed from raising liberty to the place of an unique and supreme principle could have been, without difficulty, foreseen. In fact it has happened, especially in Germany, that liberty of examination has gone so far in the exercise of its right as almost to supplant the Bible and pillage the treasure of the divine objective truths which are contained therein, and are essential to Christianity. Since the word of the Bible, being a letter that kills, is powerless, and one must draw from the spirit, nothing could prevent some from finding it quite natural to raise themselves above the spirit and catch reality directly. It has, besides, seemed possible to them to withdraw entirely from the historico-theological ground of Christianity, and from the complex of its doctrines, or, what is the same, from the movements and developments of Christian conscience and life and their needs. In other words, it has to a great many seemed possible to consider such doctrines no more or less than a heavy, useless train, or something impeding and encumbering the free action and expansion of the spirit. At this point, gradually, Strauss, and more recently, Harnack, have arrived in Germany.

A like realization of the defects of Protestantism prompts a powerful Mariano's¹ attack on Harnack.

Some remark, he writes, that Harnack, by his

¹R. Mariano: "Il Ritorno Delle Chiese Cristiane all'Unita Cattolica." Opere (Vol. VII. Barbera. Firenze).

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

laying faith in Christ as the foundation of all Christianity, logically wishes that the first and last thing to which we must resort, is not the symbol of the Apostles and its component parts (a mere historical product to which men have gradually added and which they have altered), but to the person itself of Christ, His thought and words.

But to me such logic seems analogous to that of the "four and four make eight," a logic simple and good enough for the common business and interests of life, but not for religion, which is something more complex. It is true that the words of Christ are the foundations of Christianity; yet they do not integrate it. Beyond the words there is their truth and their spirit. Of this Spirit Christ said that He would come to lead Christians into all truths (John: XIV and XV). What is that Spirit of truth, which scrutinizes, determines, fixes the profound meaning of the revelations of Christ? According to Harnack, He is nothing. To him spiritual working is something merely historical and human. The Church, on the contrary, rightly holds that the fact that the Spirit has manifested Himself historically within her bosom, and has revealed Himself gradually, in time, does not destroy its true, holy, divine reality, at least to that extent and measure in which it brings into the clear light of knowledge those objective truths which the Gospel contains under a virtual and, to say so, latent state. It is maintained that the unique duty of the Christian is to exercise faith in the Gospel. It would certainly be anti-Christian to say the opposite. Yet, are not the divinity of

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Christ, the Incarnation, Trinity in the Gospel? Are they not derived from the very bosom of it? These dogmas, though historically born and formulated, have their roots in something which does not pass, in the eternal words and revelations of Christ.

If Christianity is to be consistent, the true logic, namely that of Christianity itself, exacts that we should not resort exclusively to the person and words of Christ. When we, forsaking the spirit of such words, put aside the truths which reside therein, and the doctrines and dogmas which they have generated, we are no longer within the realm of logic.

Again: in studying the reasons for the moral influence of the Papacy over hundreds of millions of Christians, Raffaele Marino points once more to the faults of Protestantism. He says:

The prerogative of the Papacy is to incarnate Christian truth in an authoritative manner and, at the same time, as an objective and historical entity. Protestantism holds to the liberty of the Christian soul as the foundation of religious life, whereas papal Catholicism holds to the continuity and authority of historical tradition. The former wants faith to be a process moving from a free inward act and effecting a living, personal relation to Christ, and, through Christ, to God. The latter, on the contrary, makes the possibility of faith and the relation to Christ and God dependent on the mediation of the Church. Thus, in the economy of the redemption and salvation, the former prompts and solicits the subjective activity of the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

individual soul, whereas the latter opposes, represses and deadens it. But, on the other hand, in Protestantism, because of its constitutive principle of free examination, a centrifugal dash is inherent as well as the tendency to an atomistic disintegration. To many the exaggerated desire of liberty seems to point, as its ultimate result, to a Christianity dissolved into atoms and vanishing into space. Were Christian truth really to end in being nothing else but what it seems to this or that person, it is clear that none could any longer tell where the objective truth, which we must believe, exists. In that case one does not know how an intrinsic dissolution of Christianity could be prevented. Danger such as this is eliminated from papal Catholicism. Herein faith has, as its content, a universal object which individual consciences must accept, an object which is not the product of any of them singularly taken, and it is independent of and superior to any one. In the papal system, the Church is the impersonal tradition of divine truth, which she keeps and hands down, thus preventing the aberrations and deviations of the individual. Briefly, Protestantism seems to have come to the point of persuading itself that Christ is enough to the efficacy of Christianity, whereas Catholicism demonstrates that without the Church Christ vanishes and disappears. Wherefore one understands why within the former, because of its excessive, free and unbridled thinking, there are uncertainties, instability, and grievous vacillations; whereas there is, within the latter, firmness, stability, possession of

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

a truth not individual and subjective, but objective and historical. A power such as this, besides attracting, strengthening and comforting the weak and timid ones, of whom the world is full, reassures even certain sound and strong minds, to whom liberty appears beautiful and desirable provided it does not hurt and destroy truth. Catholicism, though, by its rigidity, its firm and tenacious unity of faith, its refusing to allow even the slightest awakening of subjective conscience, may lead to the death of the living and sincere faith, or to the tepefying of all beliefs and convictions, yet does not threaten to destroy the universal, objective content of Christianity and, with it, its social and historical efficiency.

Elsewhere Mariano remarks:

It is useless to dissimulate that the Papacy and its Catholicism, because of the strength of tradition and authority which they possess, shall ever last as a counterbalance to the unlimited liberty which springs from Protestantism, a counterbalance necessary to keep or reconstitute the equilibrium in the world of Christian religion and life. The greatest strength of Catholicism and the Papacy springs from the nature of Protestantism, partly from its weak sides, but mostly from its exaggerations and intemperance, for which it would not be always easy to show the reasons and the usefulness. Those excesses do not answer, ordinarily, to the needs of conscience and of faith, and spring only from the arrogance of a haughty intent. Thus the Papacy, which stands,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

as it is, incorrigible and impenitent, may well repeat: "Salus ex inimicis." . . .

* * * * *

To Raffaele Mariano echo Professor Labanca and Mr. Pietro Rampolla, the former of whom thinks that one of the very reasons for the strength of papal Catholicism lies in the weakness of Protestantism.

Variations and separations among Protestants, he writes, are almost numberless. There are among them more than 200 ecclesiastical denominations. Nevertheless it cannot be reasonably affirmed that there is no unity of any kind among Protestants. Their cherished motto is: "Unum corpus sumus in Christo," a motto quite conforming to their old formula, namely that "where Christ is, there is the Church." In virtue of such a formula Protestants have believed themselves, ever since the sixteenth century, to belong to the one Christian Church, though not uniform in its extrinsic manifestations and organization.

Today the Protestant Unionists would like to mitigate, if not eliminate, such deformity. They realize that their own divisions and subdivisions are very advantageous to Catholicism, as the ancient maxim "Regnum divisum desolabitur" cannot be called in doubt. The far-sighted contemporary Protestants do not fail to acknowledge the risk which the Christian Evangelical Church runs because of the centrifugal tendency of the so-called Separatists. Such a tendency leads to a deplorable individualism and makes out of each Evangelical pastor a pope, not preferable indeed to that of Rome. The unity in Christ of Evangelical

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Churches must be kept and venerated: yet, beside this invisible unity, a visible unity is highly beneficial, a unity constituted by the strict coördination of the various churches, even as in man there is, together with the one invisible soul, the multi-form visible body.¹

Individualism and sectarianism are the marks of Protestantism which strike the Latin conscience unfavorably. The sentiment of the universal mission of Christianity seems to be more of a living issue among the Latins than among other peoples. Latins must have inherited the universal genius of Rome, since the Catholic note has such a tremendous fascination for them.

This ideal of universality led, a few months ago, the distinguished Italian journalist, Pietro Rampolla, to reproach the national churches of Europe with having lost the sentiment of Catholic Christianity. He wrote thus:

Martin Luther, who was a great genius, but a small heart, as soon as he had caught a glimpse of the possibility of his religious reform, preoccupied himself, above anything else, with the creation of a church pre-eminently "German," which would gather the soul, the fervor, the heart of the nation; the Anglican Church, which accepts a very great part of the ritual and external practices of the Catholic Church, rebelled against the authority of Rome, being concerned with nothing else but affirming above all and first of all the independence of its own nationality, even in the religious worship; and likewise, to a great extent, Eastern Churches, jealous of an intimate autonomy, have been incapable of understanding widely the uni-

¹B. Labanca: "Il Papato." Roma. Bocca. 1905.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

versal sense of brotherhood, which ought to be in each branch of Christendom and which shall ultimately rise, in spite of the selfish interests of many, on the horizon of the near future.

Then, to the national reformers, Mr. Rampolla opposes Francis of Assisi, with his wide, complex and universal spirit. His language of love and brotherhood, the Italian journalist says, crosses the mountains and oceans, annuls boundaries of races, throws down hatred, grudges, and vengeance; he gathers and confounds, in his great impetus of love, heroes and faint-hearted ones, rich and beggars, men and things, living and lifeless things. Other religious geniuses shut themselves within certain boundaries, with their own glories and greatness, being almost jealous of communicating to the others their own happiness. Not so Francis. This saint, the purest flower of Christian democracy, did not place any limit to his love and mercy. His figure is suffused with goodness and sympathy universal. He is the symbol of the true and ideal human brotherhood. Among the religious and social reformers he is the greatest; for he aimed at reforming, modifying, correcting and inspiring the universal human soul.

Even Don Romolo Murri seems to have no sympathy with Protestantism. He acknowledges that the Protestant Reformation was, in a certain way and for some religious souls, an occasion to interrogate more deeply their own consciences and live more intensely their own religion; yet he charges it with many mistakes.

This religious movement, he writes,¹ had profound causes in the historical process of ecclesiastical organization and action during the Middle

¹"*Battaglie d'Oggi*" (Vol. III, p. 98).

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Ages. It had a good many traditions to revindicate and innovations to introduce; but it exceeded its designs. It mistook the starting point, which was the negation of all authority, thus destroying the Church; it mistook the means, the ends, in brief, everything.

As Fogazzaro, so Murri has faith in Catholicism. He holds that the Catholic faith, though not an untouched patrimony, yet is still very rich and capable of nourishing democracy.

What, he writes, to Brunetière has seemed, and to modern society ought to seem, admirable above everything, in Catholicism, is its immense social value and social authority. Catholicism possesses a virtue which few suspect, and very few, even among ourselves, know. Its spirit, its hierarchy, its centralized power,¹ which to many seemed to have become socially useless, possess a reserve of inexhaustible energy. To many Catholicism seems about to perish; but the history of Catholicism, which centuries of trials have trained in the government of humanity, may be said to be about to begin, even as that of democracy.

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The realization of the imperfection of Protestantism, on the part of the Latins, even among such as are not lacking in an intellectual and spiritual culture, is further

¹Murri wrote so in 1913. We doubt if he thought the same few years later, when the centralized Catholic power, viz., the Papacy, wrecked all the generous dreams of the Christian Democrats. He must have realized then that the centralization of all authority in one man means necessarily relentless despotism and tyranny and that the episcopal authoritative system represents a truer ideal of catholicism than the papal.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

evidenced by the case of the Modernists in general. In France and Italy the Roman Catholic Church numbers among its adherents a good many clergymen and laymen with lofty minds and decision of character. None would deny men like Gazzola, Minocchi, Ghignoni, Semeria, Bonaiuti, Fracassini, Bonaccorsi,¹ Avolio, Scotti, Fogazzaro, Panzacchi² and others (to confine ourselves to Italians only) to be endowed with a deep faith and inspired by a great religious interest. A great many of them are quite free from agnosticism and are strictly orthodox. They have devoted the best of their minds and hearts to the truly Christian cause of adapting Roman Catholicism to the intellectual, moral, and social exigencies of our times.

Yet, in spite of the bitter opposition, persecution, and disappointments with which they met, none of them has for a moment entertained the purpose to throw his lot with Protestantism. None have dared to join it. They have not desired to abandon Catholicity. And why? How are we to explain the natural aversion for Protestantism on the part of men with a thorough intellectual and religious education? Are they indeed to be taxed with narrow-mindedness and prejudice against Protestantism? No indeed. Another and quite different reason will account for this.

The Modernists do not fail to acknowledge that

¹Bonaccorsi, in his "Harnack and Loisy" (Firenze. Libr. Fior. 1904), strongly denounces the misconception of Loisy's thought by the Jesuitical school.

²Panzacchi (in the "Giornale d'Italia"; 5; March, 1904) pitied the sad condition of Loisy and the French priests "who, because of their study of the texts and their critical history of Christianity, are being severely censured and condemned by the Roman Curia."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Protestantism was something more than a mere protest. It was an historical development of Christian life. It gave to the Christian principle such spiritual power as it had not possessed for many centuries. It emancipated man and democratized society. It opened the door for religion to come into modern civilization. All these and other achievements Modernists appreciate. Yet they have no faith in Protestantism. Even when excommunicated and persecuted they still remain Catholic in spirit. Evidently they must see something wrong in Protestantism. They must find intrinsic, objective deficiencies within the systems of Luther and Calvin.

They must realize that if Protestantism is, to a great extent, right in its charges against Roman Catholicism, Roman Catholicism, on the other hand, is not entirely wrong in its denouncement of Protestantism.

They believe that if Protestantism is right in charging Roman Catholicism with having put the Church above the Bible, and the pope above both, also Roman Catholicism, in its turn, is not less right in charging Protestantism with having destroyed the Church altogether and placed above the Bible the fallible individual conscience.

Again. They believe that if Roman Catholicism is to be reproached for its unauthorized additions to the primitive deposit of faith, such as the papal supremacy and infallibility, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, the treasury of merits and the granting of indulgencies and other practices, Protestantism, in its turn, means the mutilation of that deposit, from which they have subtracted a great many Scriptural and Apostolic doctrines, as (to cite only a few) those concerning the sacramental nature and Apostolic institutions of the church, real presence of Christ in the Sacrament

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

of the Holy Eucharist, priesthood, with its character and powers, the Communion of Saints, in its mystical sense, symbolic worship, etc. Briefly, they consider Protestantism a deformation of the divine idea of the Church not less grave than that of the papacy.

They maintain, moreover, that if Roman Catholicism is deeply marked by a crushing weight of intellectual tyranny, Protestantism, in its turn, presents a disgusting spectacle of arrant individualism and intellectual and spiritual anarchy.

They hold that if Roman Catholicism is to be denounced for its superstition and fanaticism, Protestantism, on the other hand, is to be taxed with its relentless rationalism, its deleterious radicalism and chilling inhumanity.

Yet again: They are aware of the fact that if Roman Catholicism, on account of its immobility, has put itself in antithesis to history and life, Protestantism, on the contrary, wishing to keep itself in harmony with the various forms of modern progress, has not hesitated to put itself, in not a few instances, out of harmony with the eternal revelation of God. The Modernists know that a great many aberrations of modern times, such as Mormonism, Spiritualism, Christian Science and other phenomena, affecting the religious, ethical and social sphere, have sprung, more or less directly, from Protestantism.

They further realize that if the spiritual and ethical influence of Roman Catholicism over its adherents is, to a great extent, a failure, even the religious and moral hold of Protestantism is not so strong as Protestants pretend it to be. The Modernists are acquainted with the fact that religious authority is steadily losing power and effectiveness in the Protestant world, and that the control of

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Protestantism over both domestic and social life is evidently lessening.

They also know that Protestantism is not offering a serious resistance to secularism, the real evil threatening nowadays Christian religion. Looking, for instance, to the United States of America, the paradise of Protestantism, what do they discover? They see materialism in all its forms of greed of gold, selfish luxury and comfort, moral corruption, social injustice raging furiously.¹ They see an awful desecration of the home, as revealed by nearly a hundred thousand divorces in a year.

All this the alert Latin intelligence realizes. Herein lies the reason why Modernists have faith in Catholicism. They firmly believe that the Catholic ideal of the Church is far more complete than the Protestant; for, while it does emphasize the principle of progress in the life of the Church and its adaptation to the intellectual and moral needs of society, it lays hold also of another principle no less paramount, the integrity and historical continuity of Christian life, and consequently, the unity and catholicity of the Church. The Modernists hold that the Protestant loss of visible unity of the Church is something more fatal than Protestants are ready to admit.

Protestant spirit, which tends to reduce the whole content of the Gospel to God and the soul, is too repugnant

¹The statistics regarding the social infection in the United States are quite alarming. Dr. Briggs states that in 1912, of the population of New York City, at least 800,000 (one-fifth of the population) had or had had some venereal diseases. Taking the army as the embodiment of the people, we find that, according to the reports of experts from Harvard and other medical schools, the proportion of the soldiers afflicted with venereal disease in the years 1906-1907 was as follows: In France, 28.6 per thousand; Russia, 62.7; Great Britain, 68.4; United States, 167.8.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

to the Modernists and too contrary to the fundamental idea of human solidarity. To the Protestant individualistic theory they contrast the conception of historical Christianity, according to which the Church is a body, a kingdom, a society in which the Gospel lives.

Unlike Protestants, the Modernists do not reject as false the doctrines of the Church; they regard them only as imperfect interpretations of Christian faith, which are capable of being perfected through the vital power of the same principles which formerly inhered in them.

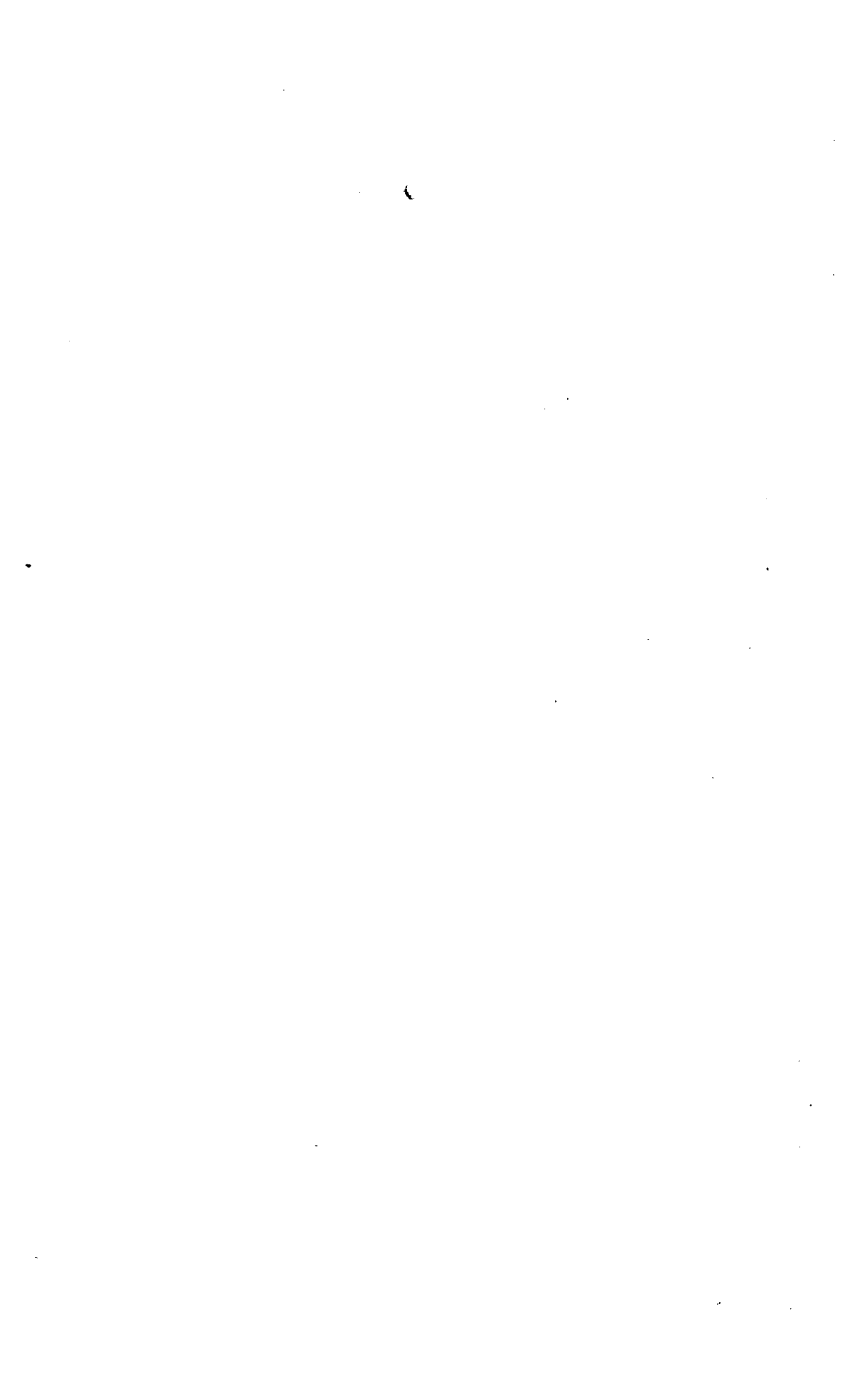
Thus the Modernists are dissatisfied with the papal form of Catholicism, not with Catholicism itself; for they know that Catholicism is not necessarily such as it is presented solely by the Roman Church. They entertain the vision of a better and more spiritual Catholicism, a Catholicism apt to understand the actual life and influence it.

Except those possessing a deep insight, most Protestants, while well aware of every success of Protestantism, seem quite unconscious of its utter failures. Not so the Modernists. The failure of Protestantism is too apparent to them. In spite of its partial success, they discern signs of the passing of Protestantism. This is the reason why the Modernists, while struggling against the Roman form of Catholicism, do not desire Protestantism. Their ideal is not that of Wittemberg or Geneva. They do not regard Protestantism as a development of Christianity any more final than they regard the medieval Catholicism of Rome, nor do they consider it a form of Christian life more permanent than Catholicism. They see the salvation of the gospel and Christianity in a new Catholicism. Beneath what is old within Catholicism they behold essential elements which have the power to survive the crisis

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

of modern thought and conscience. Beneath what is decaying in Catholicism, they see real signs of promise. Beneath what is dead they feel the warmth of life. They believe, in short, that the religion of the future is not Protestantism, but true Catholicism.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE REFORMATION OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM

FROM what has been said already it naturally follows that Protestantism is not and never will be able to replace Catholicism among Latin peoples. Catholicism, besides being in itself something more complete, perfect and harmonic than Protestantism, is, in relation to the Latins, the form of Christianity more suitable to them. It is the emanation, the natural product of the Latin soul, even as Protestantism is a conception purely German. All thought of a reformation of the Roman Church in a Protestant sense is to be quite excluded from one's mind.

Yet we ought not lose all hope of the ultimate reforming of Roman Catholicism. It is not something quite outside the pale of the possibility. But Protestants are not those who can or must bring it about.

For a long time the reform of Roman Catholic peoples has been persistently spoken among the Protestant bodies of the United States. Meetings and conferences have been proposed and held, agreements effected, means of various kinds considered to such an end. Yet always quite fruitlessly. The efforts of Protestantism, in that direction, are doomed to a sure failure. They waste their energies in pursuing an unattainable end.

Modern Protestantism cannot exert any reforming influence, for it needs itself to be reformed. Should today another Luther or Calvin arise, he would not turn his attention to Roman Catholicism, for he would find within his own organization much, very much, to keep him busy.

Protestantism cannot exercise any reforming influence upon Rome, because it is too disunited, too incoherent,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

and, consequently, too weak. It is its own weakness (a result of the lack of cohesion) that prevents Protestantism from exerting a real power over the religious, social and international problems of modern life. Rome is aware of such weakness: accordingly she has no concern with nor respect for Protestantism. The salvation of Protestantism and its usefulness, in relation to the universal Christendom, depends on the corporate union of its scattered spiritual forces. This corporate union would result in greatly increasing the militant power of Protestantism, and would not fail to make an impression upon the conscience of the Church of Rome. By strengthening its own influence by means of unity, Protestantism could impress Rome, create within her a more tolerant and respectful attitude toward the Protestant world, and, eventually, make her a more spiritual and vital force. It is only a united, strong, powerful Protestantism that, by the repercussion of its vigorous life, could touch and move Rome. Protestantism, as it is today, is absolutely powerless.

Those who can reform Roman Catholicism are the Roman Catholics themselves. It is something which cannot come from the outside. It must spring from within, from its very bosom. It is vain to hope for a reform of Roman Catholicism and its adherents carried out in opposition to the Church. Protestants have not nor can have upon Roman Catholic peoples that authority which is necessary to exert an influence on them. In order to reform the corrupt practices of Roman Catholic peoples, one ought to reform first the doctrines and, above all, the spirit of the hierarchical or official Church. But this Church is such that she cannot be reformed by any outside influence. She ought to reform herself.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

The most intelligent advocates of reformation among Roman Catholics have proclaimed this truth. Even the Modernists of late have clearly perceived it. They all agree in maintaining that if a reform of the Roman Church is to be ever hoped for, it can originate only from within herself. Undoubtedly it is not to be said that the Modernists do not realize fully the corruption of Roman Catholicism and the urgent need of a purification of it. On the contrary, they are very well aware of it; yet they firmly believe that, notwithstanding the wounds and various evils whereby Roman Catholicism is being troubled, there is, at its bottom, the stream of life from which its spiritual regeneration must come. The regeneration of the Latin peoples cannot come from Protestantism. What will regenerate Latin and all Catholic peoples is not the displacement of Catholicism and the suppression of its worship and practices; it is the quickening of the former and the spiritualization of the latter.

Gaetano Negri had a deep insight, indeed, when he wrote that, in order to renew Christianity among the Catholic Italians we need to "keep untouched the dogmatic and ritualistic structure of Catholicism, and know how to interpret its symbols at the light of modern thought."¹

Latin and other Catholic peoples, both ignorant and cultured, know that Protestantism is not, and cannot be, THEIR religion. They do not feel, and cannot make themselves at home within it. Therefore any reform of Roman Catholicism cannot be other than a SELF-REFORMATION.

* * * * *

We are well aware of the fact that this self-reforma-

¹G. Negri: "Ultimi Saggi." Milano. Hoepli. 1904.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

tion of Roman Catholicism will never be brought about through a spontaneous initiative of the ecclesiastical authority. The pope and the hierarchy will be opposed forever to the idea of reform. This can be accomplished only as excluding the pope, nay, in spite of him and against him. The martyrdom of Savonarola, the failure of Lamennais and the other liberal Catholic of the nineteenth century, and the persecution against the Modernists of late, prove in a conclusive manner that it is vain to expect a serious reform of the Roman Church by or through the Papacy. The Papacy will never resolve to take a step backward and make a new start. It will never retract what it has already decreed, especially in regard to its own constitution and prerogatives. Neither will it ever be led to give a wider interpretation to its dogmatic formularies.

Modern Biblical scholarship and historical research have undermined the foundations of the papal system.¹

¹Neander, Gieseler, Langen, Baur, Hagenback, Dollinger, Reinkens, Schroedl, Ranke, Friedberg, Friedrich, Ewald, Thiersch, Lachler, Weizsacker, Niedner, Guericke, Kurtz, Herzog, Karl Muller, Fischer, Hurst, Harnack and other German scholars have assailed the walls of the medieval edifice of papal supremacy. So in England Milman, Stanley, Robertson, Wakeman, Pusey, Lightfoot, Creighton, Schaff, Littledale, Briggs, Puller, Bright, Salmon, Gore and others have done. Papal ultramontanism has been also disavowed by the modern champions of the liberal Catholic school in France, by Lamennais, Reville and Sabatier, by Loisy, Houtin and other Modernists. In Italy the papal system has been, in different ways, attacked by Mazzini, Niccolini, Lambruschini, Ricasoli, Mamiani, Settembrini, Bonghi, Guertzoni, Spaventa, Fiorentino, Vera, Cantoni, Tocco, Dandolo, Gabelli, Berti, Levi, Bianchi-Giovini, Amabile, De Crescenzo, Negri, Mariano, Chiappelli, Labanca, Comba, Rosadi, Barzellotti, Caetani, Panzacchi, Cervesato, Oliva, Murri, Minocchi, Fracasini, Ghignoni, Bartoli, Avolio, Scotti and others.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Yet the Papacy does not seem to have taken notice of the inexorable judgment pronounced on its claims.¹ It still keeps its doors tightly shut to the light of truth. Satisfied with the unconscious homage of the popular masses, it is indifferent toward the imperative demands of cultured intelligence and enlightened consciences.

History teaches us that all the attempts at the reform of the Roman Church, throughout the centuries, have been made by the lower clergy. If ever the reformation will be brought about within Rome, it will be by the priests. It is they only who will eventually be able to reshape gradually the conscience of the Church. When such a new conscience will have been formed within the Church, the Papacy will be bound to surrender.

It is not maintained here that the Papacy will go. We do not deem an extinction of it indeed probable. An institution which was determined by deep reasons, ideal as well as historical, reasons taking root in concrete conditions of the world and humanity; an institution which has, moreover, in such a large and profound manner acted on the structure and course of human history, and still preserves the possibility of taking a new vigor and regaining influence among the peoples, is not likely to disappear from the Christian world.² A cen-

¹Renan said, with regard to Roman Catholicism: "It is a bar of iron; it does not listen to reason." (In a letter dated August 24, 1845, published by Abbé Cognat.)

²Even Renan realized the indestructibility of Catholicism. In 1884, having been asked by a certain person if he believed in the possibility of adapting Catholicism to the new life, he replied: "Two things are certain: Catholicism cannot perish; Catholicism cannot remain what it is. These hours when all the outlets appear barred are the great hours of Providence; but the agony at such times is great, and the lot of those who are reserved for this hour is cruel."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

tralizing power could prove still beneficial, within Christendom, for the preservation of Christian faith. What is certain is that the Papacy, willing or unwilling, shall, in time, undergo a radical transformation.

Gaetano Negri was right indeed in predicting that the renewal of papal Catholicism and its salvation was to result from the education and culture of the clergy. Dealing with the crucial question of the relations of the Roman Church to the civil society, he maintains that the only means to bring about a reconciliation between the Roman Catholic principles and the political and social movement of modern society is to

try to create, in the midst of the clergy, a wide stream of culture, make them to feel the breath of the modern spirit, and wrest them from their isolation. In the culture of the clergy lies also the salvation of Catholicism, and the only hope of succeeding to infuse a breath of life into the decrepit and dying giant. The air and light of new times must penetrate into the hypogeum of a mummified hierarchy, in order again to awaken life there and effect its beneficial transformation.¹

Also Raffaele Mariano agrees with Negri in holding that historical criticism, Biblical exegesis, modern theological culture, are bound, in due time, to act as solvent upon the Papacy. Certain influences of modern religious thought upon the papal system are already visible. The narrow and intolerant Ultramontanism of De Maistre and Hergenröther today is almost universally discredited within the Roman Church. The interpretation of the papal system by Newman, Kraus, Acton, Ehrardt, Funk, Duchesne, Batiffol, and others, shows the penetration of

¹G. Negri: "Ultimi Saggi" (p. 229). Milano. Hoepli. 1904.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

a broader, more liberal and sympathetic spirit into the mental attitude of the church. Such spirit is surely bound to triumph in the future.

Rome cannot help breathing the intellectual and social atmosphere of the present time. She must breathe it or die. The two greatest factors of modern civilization, science and democracy, cannot be repelled forever. They are forces which, sooner or later, are bound to dominate and pervade the thought and life of the Roman Catholic world. There are no enclosures that can indefinitely resist such forces. The modernistic phenomenon tells us clearly that the energies of actual life are already pressing for entrance, from many a side, into the walled Roman dominion.

Yet their penetration will be gradual. The Roman Catholic reform will not be other than slow. The traditional beliefs are too deeply rooted in the consciences of the majority to be supplanted and replaced within a short period. A great many, if not most, of the clergy are still unaware of the fact that there is something wrong with the papal system. Those who have come to realize the decay of the Catholicism of the Vatican are few as yet. They are but the exception.

Let the number of the enlightened and cultured priests increase; wait for the time when the priests with a real consciousness will be counted not by dozens nor by hundreds, but by thousands; then the Vatican will feel compelled to capitulate and come to terms.

When the Papacy will have surrendered to scientific method and allowed the light of truth to shine upon itself, then it will discover, to its great amazement, that the consciousness of its divine right was as false as it was strong; that its fundamental principles, however

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

greatly they have assisted the purpose of Christianity in a certain period of its development, are unsupported by divine sanction. The Papacy will realize then that spiritual values are, in Christianity, superior to institutional forms, for the latter were intended to be subordinate to the former, not vice versa. It will understand that Christianity is not only dogma, but it is life, and, as such, is also movement, progress, adaptation; that, again, it is not only rule and discipline, but, above all, love, and consequently, tolerance, charity, and brotherhood. Again, it will become convinced that if a legitimate use of authority leads the Christian soul to its goal, absolutism, on the contrary, is destructive of what is more essential and vital to the soul, liberty; and accordingly, it will see the necessity of democratizing its own constitution and substituting for its spiritual dictatorship the democratic conception of the ancient primacy.

The probable issues of this world-war increase the hopes for a near democratization of the papal system. Everything seems to point out that the twentieth century will mark the triumph of the democratic principle, even as the nineteenth marked that of the nationalistic one. Human society, all over the earth, is on the verge of a complete transformation in a democratic sense. Surrounded by a world-wide democracy, the absolutism of the papal Church will not be able to endure very long, under its actual form.

Face to face with its fate, the Papacy might, it is true, resort to a desperate resistance. But, by doing so, it would, most likely, provoke a great separatist movement within the church. Thus either a radical reformation or a large schism presents itself as an inevitable event in the future of the papal Church.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

The dawn of that day may be far, very far; yet it may also be nearer than we imagine. Whether it be imminent or far off, we like to entertain the hope of its coming. A great many are quite skeptical on this point, saying that if Lamennais, and more recently, Tyrrell and Von Hügel, Kraus and Schell,¹ Loisy and Sabatier, Murri and Fogazzaro, have not succeeded in it, neither will those who are coming after them. Those who argue thus are wrong. The liberal Catholics of the last century were not able to reform the Roman Church, neither have the Modernists of late, yet they have planted seeds which, in due time, will bear fruit.

The skepticism of those who seem not to entertain any hope about the transformation of the Roman system is evidently too radical. They behold only the massive fact of the Papacy and fail to think of the tremendous force of such factors as history, life, and conscience.

The Church, wrote three years ago the Rev. Ugo Ianni, an Italian Waldesian pastor, is always, among the other things, a conscience. Lulled to sleep, conscience is capable of awakening; defiled, it is capable of purification; oppressed, it preserves the possibility of liberty. The laws of conscience are never outlawed by proscription; its needs cannot be silenced forever. Roused, conscience discovers the fetters in which they bound it sleeping. The possibility of liberty is then transformed into a militant force; and when the awakening of conscience is general, its fetters fall broken. Therefore, however terrible

¹The books of Dr. Herman Schell, professor of Apologetics at the University of Wurzburg, were condemned in February 24, 1899. He submitted to the Decree of the Index.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

and frightful, infallible Caesarism is not omnipotent. We believe only in the omnipotence of God.¹

¹See "Coenobium," March 31, 1915.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANGLICANISM AND ITS OPPORTUNITY.

THERE is a religious system which could prove more fitted than Protestantism to accomplish the reformation of Roman Catholicism. There is a form of Catholicism which, if it actually does not represent what Latin peoples need and the modern Catholics are looking for, at least includes many of its elements, together with the possibility of further developments. This system is Anglicanism. There are a great many who misconceive the true nature of Anglicanism; to them it means "conservative Protestantism," whereas it is essentially "*progressive Catholicism*."

Indeed, Anglicanism embodies a purer, a simpler, and more apostolic Catholicism, the Catholicism as it was before the medieval papal deformation. This appeal to the pre-medieval religion places Anglicanism in a unique position. Its essentially Catholic foundations enable it to reach, to a considerable extent, Roman Catholicism. Even such an Ultramontane as Count Joseph De Maistre came to the realization that Anglicanism has the singular power to touch Roman Catholicism with one hand, and Protestantism with the other.¹ Today, according to the confession of the Modernists, they are looking to Anglicanism as to the bond which eventually will reunite all Catholics.

Indeed, if the institutional element of Christianity be a factor with which the various branches of Christendom must reckon, in order to lay the foundations of the unity

¹Lausanne: "Considerations sur la France" (II; 1796).

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

of the Body of Christ, then the vision of the central churchmanship of Anglicanism cannot fail to loom larger and larger. The Papacy might conceivably renounce some of its powers in behalf of the Episcopacy; the papal Church might, so to say, episcopalize herself; but it will never consent to become presbyterian or congregational. Likewise the Greek Orthodox and Eastern Churches would never give up their episcopal system, which is closely connected with the greatest victories of orthodox faith over heresies and they rightly keep it as a most sacred and inviolable heritage. Nor will the Protestant bodies ever allow themselves to be papalized. They may go so far as to approach an episcopal conception of the church, but no further.

Thus Anglicanism is the most inclusive or comprehensive of all religious systems. It exalts the Bible as the supreme authority in matters of faith, yet, on the other hand, it holds fast to the principle of tradition and values the authority of the Creeds, the Councils, and the Fathers. In the first half of the nineteenth century, at the very time when Biblical criticism among the liberal Protestants of Germany was reaching its crisis, the Oxford Movement gave to the traditional principle increased prestige.

Because of the compromise upon which Anglicanism rests and is manifest in its position it has met the opposition of the religious extremists. It has been condemned by the papal Church;¹ it is looked upon with diffidence by the Protestants. Yet all this cannot make its witness to "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" less strong and glorious.

¹See *Appendix*, pp. 236-245: "On the validity of Anglican Orders."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Again. Anglicanism stands unrivaled in Christendom for its combination of Catholic tradition and intellectual freedom. While it has all the advantages of the authoritative principle, which in Protestantism is wanting, it has not the disadvantages of the rigid Roman authority. Unlike Protestantism, it possesses a considerable degree of, and the possibility of a still greater, unity and cohesive power; it is not lacking in the strength derived from the corporate ideal of Christianity. Its veneration of the Holy Scriptures as the ultimate authority, its appeal to the ancient Church, its foundation of a democratic episcopal form makes Anglicanism far richer than Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy, in possible developments of character and life.

Anglicanism alone, among the various Christian systems, has received the power of assimilating new ideas without breaking with the past. It is the only system which is both ancient and modern. It has gone through the fiercest struggles and the most trying ordeals, yet it has come out of them victorious and has preserved itself strong with experience and vigorous with life. It looks young, modern, ultra-progressive; yet it glories in nineteen centuries of uninterrupted historical tradition. It is old; yet it is the only form of Catholicism which can understand the world and be understood by it; it can satisfy, better than any other Catholic system, the exigencies of a modern mind and conscience.

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Nevertheless, we do not claim perfection for Anglicanism. We are very far indeed from concealing or minimizing its deficiencies. Many of the charges brought against it are, to a certain extent, true, though their importance and consequences are usually exaggerated.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Thus one hears Romanists maintaining that Anglicanism is an utter confusion of beliefs. It cannot be denied that Anglicanism is lacking all that outward institutional uniformity and that strong cohesion of belief which are found in the Roman system. There are variances, more or less pronounced, between the two schools known as low and high churchmanship. Historical reasons determined the fact that Anglican formularies, in certain points, present such looseness as to make them susceptible of various interpretations. Such variances within the Anglican communion are bad enough, yet it would be simply untrue to affirm that there are among Anglicans contradictions on the essential points of Catholic faith. In conclusion, there is among them unity "*in necessariis*," if by the term "necessary" we mean what was held as such by the Apostolic and Patristic Church. Anglicanism is conspicuously orthodox on the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and so it is also on the Sacramental system, the Holy Eucharist, the divine character of the Church, the Communion of Saints, the Remission of Sins. Thus, in spite of all its imperfections both of theory and practice, Anglicanism retains the essentials of Catholicity in faith and organization. It rejects the medieval Catholicism of Peter Lombard, Bellarmine, Suarez, and the other schoolmen, but it retains the more ancient, primitive Catholicity of Irenaeus, Cyprian, Augustine and the Fathers. It casts off "the Holy Roman Church" of Trent, but it venerates the "One, Catholic and Apostolic Church" of Nicea.

It is further maintained, more especially by apologists from papal quarters, that the Anglican Church is utterly enslaved to the State, that nationalism rages within her

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

and paralyzes her life. This is true only in part. For, in spite of all, one cannot hold in truth that the Anglican Church has failed to consecrate the life of the English people. If such charge were true, then we should be compelled to admit that Christianity itself has failed. The Church of England has partially failed through the imperfection of the men who have represented her, but she has not failed so far as to withhold the gifts of supernatural truth and grace which she is commissioned to minister.

One might add, in this connection, that if nationalism, resulting from the linking of the Church and the State is certainly disadvantageous, not even the pretended internationalism of the papal Church seems to be an ideal condition. It is a fact that the religio-political internationalism of the pope has profoundly troubled and disordered the Latin nations of Europe. It has been the cause of the most acute dissension between the religious and the civil conscience of Italians. It has resulted in provoking in France and Italy a hostile attitude of the State toward the Church, which has proved very detrimental to her religious and spiritual activity.

Again, the fact that the Church of Austria-Hungary (to confine ourselves to one instance) acknowledges Rome as the center of Catholic unity has not made the religious and social life of the dual monarchy purer and holier than that of the English nation, nor has it prevented the empire of the Hapsburgs from being a most disturbing element in the political and social relations of European peoples.

Yet again, it is the Roman Catholic internationalism which, three years ago, led the pope to assume the most immoral and degrading neutrality before the paramount

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

moral issues involved in the invasion of Belgium and the other atrocious crimes of the great world-war. The attitude of him who pretends to be above the nations, has, in the tragic day of the crucifixion of humanity, been much like that of Pontius Pilate, who washed his hands and allowed the populace to crucify the Lord. The world has pronounced its irrevocable judgment on the papal sin, and history, the inexorable Nemesis, has ratified it and will transmit it to the future.

Let not Roman Catholics delude themselves. The Catholic ideal of the primitive church, with the universal episcopate as the center of unity, could prove still beneficial to the religious and civil society; but the medieval conception of religious unity, which has resulted in making papalism a synonym of kaiserism, can no longer appeal to or interest a world which is today bleeding and agonizing for the sake of the democratic ideal.

The salvation of the modern society, religious as well as civil, lies in democracy, even as the salvation of the medieval society lay in theocracy; and only an Episcopal Church can inspire a Christian democracy.¹ Episcopacy alone is able to develop and guide the forces of the complex modern life, freeing it from the fetters of papal tyranny and preventing the same from falling into the anarchy of Protestant individualism. This is the unmistakable lesson drawn from the history of the times of Luther and Pius IV, Baur and Pius IX, Harnack and Pius X. The German reformers purposed to de-

¹The fact that the Episcopacy of the Russian Church has failed to bring about a Christian democracy does not disprove our statement. Russian Episcopate has been untrue to itself. By its espousing the cause of the Czarism it has betrayed the fundamental principles for which Episcopacy stands.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

mocratize Christian society, but having forsaken episcopacy, the fulcrum of Christian democracy, their struggle for the democratic ideal ended in an anarchistic revolution. On the other side, the papal reaction, which culminated in the Council of Trent, did nothing but make the constitution of the church still more hatefully aristocratic, and widen the gap between it and the new world. During the nineteenth century, while Tübingen and the other German schools, by their destructive criticism, increased the chaos within the Christian society, Pius IX, by his Index, definitely proscribed all forms of democratic progress. In more recent times the generous efforts of the Modernistic school have been made sterile by the influences of the rationalistic Protestantism of Harnack's school; and, on the other hand, resolutely opposed by the unchristian absolutism of the Vatican, which grows more intolerant and cruel as it sees its end nearer.

Going back to Anglicanism, we maintain that, in spite of its faults, its anomalies, and shortcomings, which must be frankly admitted, the strong and unshakable historical basis upon which it stands, its sober theology, its vigorous spiritual and ethical life, its revived worship, its proven loyalty to our Lord and His Kingdom, have luminously shown it to be a working system. Its vitality in the supernatural sphere bears witness to its divine claims.

Today the vestiges of secular struggles have not yet disappeared from within the Anglican Church; its wounds are not yet fully healed, and there is within it much that is depressing. Yet, in spite of this, one may easily see that the blessing of God is upon it. The presence of God is gloriously visible among Anglicans.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

The power of the Holy Spirit that wrought such wonder as the Catholic revival of Oxford is still manifest. Underneath the wounded surface of the divine organism there is the throb of life, and runs the regenerating stream of supernatural grace.

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It has been pointed out that Anglicanism could prove a providential instrument in helping to bring about a reform within the Roman Church. We have also seen that the reformation of Roman Catholicism can come but from a source essentially Catholic, upon Catholic principles, through a Catholic process. From such premises it naturally follows that if Anglicanism wishes to co-operate somehow in the reform of Roman Catholicism it absolutely needs to hold fast to its own true heritage, to stand firm and unmoved in its assured position.

We are sadly aware of the fact that there is a school of Anglicans who, without a thorough examination of the principles involved, still incline to adhere to the indictments advanced by liberal Protestantism against the hierarchico-episcopal Catholicism, its authoritative principle and theological dogmatism.¹

Yet, in spite of all that has been and can furthermore be argued against the hierarchico-episcopal principle, it is a fact that the sanction for its formation is found within the history of Christianity, and the reason for its perpetuation lies within the very nature and constitution of the Christian Church.

The historian wishing to measure the progress which the Christian community has accomplished by submitting

¹See Appendix, pp. 246-262: "ON MODERN ITALIAN THOUGHT AND CHRISTIAN DOGMA."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

to hierarchico-episcopal Catholicism and its dogmatism must never lose sight of the following facts: First of all, Christianity, which has given itself such a constitution is, manifestly, the very force that has conquered the world and has become the new moral basis of life and culture.

Secondly, it has the great merit of having preserved the primitive Christian tradition, which constitutes the great religious patrimony of the Christian Church. The censure against the firm conservation of tradition (which is the pivot of episcopal Catholicism) breaks down when one considers that only by its means have the constitutive principles and facts of Christianity been gathered and transmitted to succeeding generations. Thus we are indebted to the action and authority of episcopo-catholic tradition for all that we know about the form and content of original Christianity.

Furthermore, since this tradition has thus been kept unchanged, it has been possible to renew its primitive elements and quicken them through the power of sentiment as well as by critical examination.

Besides, one ought not to forget that the most peculiar and greatest result of the theological elaboration of ancient Catholicism (which, on the foundation of the revealed doctrine of the "Logos" wrought out and defined the dogmas of Christology and the Trinity) was the first attempt at a reconciliation of faith with knowledge and of religious revelation with philosophical reason. The appropriation by the Church of certain pre-existing forms of knowledge and culture, produced by pagan antiquity (which were unquestionably immanent in human thought and consequently inseparable from it) was not detrimental to Christianity; it was rather a con-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

vincing proof of the great receptivity and universalism of the new religious idea. A great many have complained that this method of appropriating ancient culture to Christian dogmatics was a submission of the traditions of Christianity to the influences of pagan speculation and, accordingly, a departure from its pristine purity and ideality and an evidence of invading wordliness.

This is simply a mistake and a result of mental narrowness. For, from the penetrating influence of pagan culture, and, afterwards, of the State, the new civilization has largely sprung. One might further add that the clashes and struggles which that penetration caused have been the very stimulus, the most lively and productive source of our interior and spiritual life.

To many it seems that the forcing of faith into symbols, dogmatic formulas, and doctrinal professions, has deprived it of its spontaneity and fervor and has well nigh petrified it. Yet a certain constraint of religious conscience is inseparable from the very nature of its content, which is the "divine objective truth." Religiously speaking, where one is not bound to revere truth, there is no faith. When Harnack and his sympathizers tell us that in religion and Christianity we must look to the reality and not to the dogmatic formulæ and professions of faith, and that the essentials are not the creed and extrinsic authority, but the conformity to the spirit, they are not worthy of our consideration. The whole process of Harnack's reasoning on this matter and the nature of his argumentations may show his remarkable scholarship, yet, at the same time, they evidently attest that historical knowledge and erudition are not always the same thing as serious and orderly thought,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

which, by analyzing facts and problems, endeavors to catch their force and meaning.

Spirit is all right. But the religious conscience cannot remain swinging in empty space. It needs to know what must be believed and what is the spirit thereof. From this springs the fact that as dogmas formulated into a creed were needed in the first centuries of Christian Church, so they are now. Say what you will about Christianity, but don't say that a Christianity without dogmas is sufficient, a Christianity without truths objective, determined and accepted by the universal conscience. A spiritualized Christianity such as that would be, would dissolve itself into a vague and empty concept, or a subjective sentimentalism, subservient to the will, inclinations and preferences of this or that pastor, of this or that professor of theology. All of which implies an enormous logical and historical contradiction and a repugnant absurdity.

The dogmatic principle, within Christianity, implies, as a logical consequence, authority. The rule of faith presupposes necessarily a ruling element to formulate it. Authority, understood in the sense of a guardianship of truth, is essentially inherent in the Christian system. What the Church needs is not the repudiation of authority, but a deeper, truer, more spiritual understanding of it. Spiritualize the conception of authority and you will realize that it does not deny that universal priesthood of all believers, which Jesus came to found in the world. Deepen and idealize the meaning of authority, and you will understand that it is not intended to suppress the privilege of the faithful to seek justification in a direct relation to God. Regulate the legitimate function of authority, and its conflicts with the evolution of religious

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

truth and the liberty of Christian conscience will be eliminated. In brief, think of authority in the spirit of Him Who said: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," and you will find that it resolves itself into a loving tutelage of the Christian soul and of its spiritual life.

This ideal conception of authority has a close, intimate historical relation to the episcopal principle. The historian who sets himself to study the formative process of the episcopal organization of the church and its rising to be, in its totality, the foundation and the representation of the Church, nay, the very Church itself, is compelled to conclude that it was not wholly a transitory product of the times and of historical circumstances; for it shows that it has, within itself, something necessary, something immanent in the very nature of the Church. The episcopate identifies itself so closely, so indissolubly with the very self of the Christian Church that one cannot understand how it might possibly have been determined only by historical and ideal reasons and is forced to admit that it was divinely willed.

We leave to medieval sophistry the merely academic questions as to whether the episcopal principle belongs to the "esse" or only to the "bene esse" of the Christian Church; whether there can be a true and genuine branch of the Church of Christ without the possession of the historical episcopate, and the like. The fact is that the episcopate has incarnated and expressed throughout history the living and speaking conscience of the Christian Church. It is through the episcopate that the Christian Church has derived the consciousness of her prerogative, of her unity and of the possession of divine truth.

But we ought to think not only of what the episcopal

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

principle has been and has done, but also of what it is and can do. Many regard the episcopal organization of the Christian Church as something obsolete, something which has no reason for existence in future Christianity. They are greatly mistaken. The episcopal principle is needed today in the Christian society as it was during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. The solidity and efficacy of the episcopal principle is indefectible, not only ideally, but also practically.

The episcopate, resting on the democratic conception of the collective representation, creates within the Christian Church that authority which truly realizes the needs of the community of the faithful. The episcopal ideal, by removing from the church the absolutistic individualism of the papal system and the anarchical individualism of Protestant confessions, interprets and expresses genuinely the collective mind and conscience of Christianity, and thus brings about true Catholicism.

The episcopate, rightly understood, means essentially "democracy," and in a sound democracy lies the salvation of both religious and civil society. Both Roman Catholic imperialism and Protestant anarchy are destructive of the ideal of Christ's "kingdom" on earth, even as the imperialism of the kaiser and the anarchy of Lenine are ruinous in the civil domain.

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All this ought to be more fully realized by those Anglicans who are somewhat unconscious of their high privilege. Anglicanism does need to rouse itself. It needs to stir up within itself faith in its Catholic inheritance and mission in Christendom. It needs to elaborate within itself a deeper and larger consciousness of its own Catholicity. The strong, solemn, universal affirma-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

tion of Anglican Catholicity has not taken place as yet. The Oxford Tractarian Movement needs a new spring. The American Episcopal Church is still waiting for her Pusey. Both Anglican faith and practice are still far from being ideal. The standards of doctrinal discipline need to be raised in such a wise as to prevent the meaning of the fundamentally Catholic character of its formularies from becoming perverted by false interpretations. There is, in some Anglican statements of Catholic truth, a laxity which calls for correction, the defect being of such a nature as may even lead to heresy.

It is rightly maintained that the Protestant elements, within the Anglican system, are only adventitious, not essentially inherent in it. Yet this does not make the need of checking its working influences less urgent. The fact that Anglicanism is essentially Catholic in its character, whereas its imperfections are in their nature transitory and capable of remedy, makes the neglect to do away with them more culpable.

When the Anglican Church will have deepened her Catholic conscience, all the evils which actually trouble her existence will be easily overcome. The church will then realize more fully, among the other things, the necessity of regaining her spiritual autonomy. The dependence of the Church on the State, even if it is not such a hideous enslavement as some pretend, yet cannot help proving harmful to the Church and a hindrance to her supernatural mission. The system of "The Church within the State" is a menace to the life of the Church. The Church should be subordinate to the State in temporal affairs, but fully separated from it in the religious sphere. In all that concerns her spiritual function the Church is sovereign. All the modern tendencies are for

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

such a separation, which, undoubtedly, will finally prevail throughout Christendom.

The revived Anglo-Catholicism will, moreover, turn its attention to the various dissenting sects, which mean a marked scattering of the religious energies of the English nation. If Anglicanism wishes to become a real strong factor of religious progress in English life it ought to exert a centripetal power over the dissenters. There are too many divergent movements and currents within English Christianity, each tending to paralyze the forces of the other. The great problem which presses upon the Anglican Church and calls for immediate solution is to gather and include all those independent, if not conflicting, forces. The task is hard indeed, but not impossible. Everything nowadays seems to indicate that English sectaries are beginning to feel tired of their separation and are asking if it is not worth while to consider a return to the mother church.

If the Church of England will not fail to understand the position, needs and aspirations of the dissenters and will be able to make room for them in her Catholic bosom, it would mean not only the salvation of the dissenters, but also a great increase of power and prestige to the church. Nobody can imagine the tremendous possibilities of an English Christianity reunited on a comprehensive Catholic basis. Rome would then be compelled to prostrate herself before the dominating and conquering power of Anglicanism and would realize the unreasonableness and uselessness of her isolation.

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On the awakening of Catholic conscience the future of Anglicanism in America more particularly depends. If the American Episcopal Church would know and de-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

velop her own possibilities, she could have in her hand the power to mould and direct the nation's religion.

The Roman Catholic Church will never succeed in her task of "making America Catholic." In spite of her powerful organization and her peculiar ability to influence civil affairs, she is not likely to become the universal religion of the American people. For her centralized system, her undemocratic traditions, her policy governed by Jesuitical methods, are not in accord with the intellectual, ethical, political, and social ideas of Americanism.

The Americanism of Father Hecker, of Gibbons, Keane, Ireland, Spalding and others is very far from being a genuine fruit of that tree which is known as papalism, but it is largely due to Protestant influences. Leo XIII knew this when he, in his letter to Cardinal Gibbons (22 January, 1899) strongly censured the tendencies of a certain number of Roman Catholics of America.

On the other hand, the various Protestant bodies cannot exert a serious influence upon the nation's life at large, for their sectionalism (which is the root of their most distinctive organizations, and, consequently, the reason for their existence) prevents them from combining in the adoption of a solid and strong religious policy, which alone could affect the life of the nation.

Between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant bodies stands the American Episcopal Church, which inherited Catholicity from her mother Church of England. Her faith, which does not deny the due rights of intelligence, her sober practices, her essential democratic spirit (quite in harmony with American ideals), enable her to touch and influence effectively both the

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

individual and public mind and conscience, while, on the other hand, the strength of her Catholic foundation furnishes her with the "ubi consistam" for the exercise of a real efficacy over the ever-changing phases of the spiritual life of the country.

But to reach the splendid goal which is in sight of the American Episcopal Church there are certain conditions to be fulfilled: the most important of which is the strengthening of the sense of Catholic heritage and Catholic discipline. The American sense of liberty should not be separated from the importance of law, order, and discipline. Episcopal churchmen of America ought to appreciate more deeply the value of the apostolic authority to which they can appeal, and hold fast to it; for a solid authoritative basis is the only way to escape from the disintegrating force of individualism and the turmoil of other destructive tendencies. Those are mistaken who see, in the strengthening of the authoritative and disciplinary principle, a danger for the democratic ideals of the Church, for, if brought about in an intelligent spirit, such strengthening would tend, on the contrary, to afford a surer basis for the evolution of those ideals. The danger for the American Episcopal Church lies, more immediately, in the opposite tendency to enfeeble the sense of order and under-appreciate the historical experience of Catholic Christianity.

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The day, when the Anglican Church will recreate her faith in Catholicism and will rise to bear her witness to the sacred treasure of her Catholic heritage, will witness to her extraordinary power over the development of future Christianity and her ability to play a decisive part in shaping its destinies.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

There are nowadays cultured Roman Catholic priests who are looking to Anglicanism for light in the solution of religious problems. There are those who are studying Anglicanism and finding it illuminating and helpful. But such are few. The majority are indifferent toward it, for the very reason that Anglicanism presents itself in a Protestant guise. The Anglican treasure of Catholic faith is held in an un-Catholic vessel. The atmosphere wherein Anglican religious conscience moves and lives is too saturated with Protestantism. Modern Catholics in the Roman communion, being dissatisfied with an exhausted and obsolete form of Catholicism, are looking for truer Catholicism, but they fail to find a Catholic conscience and consciousness within the Anglican Church at large. They realize the truth of the statement made by Neale, "England's Church is Catholic, but England's self is not." This is the reason why most modern Catholics do not approach Anglicanism. Let Anglicans present the Church in her true light, and a new disposition will be created between the Anglican and the progressive part of the Roman communion. When the intelligent Roman clergy will have become less indifferent and better, even friendly disposed toward Anglicanism, then Anglicans will have the opportunity to influence them, and, through them, the Church at large. The clergy hold in their hands the future of the Roman Church. They are the connecting link between the official hierarchy and the people. The hierarchy is too far removed from the people, while the lower clergy are near the soul and the conscience of the people. What the clergy are, the people also shall be, whether the pope and the cardinals wish it or not. The Roman Catholic priests themselves are very well aware of this. They know that the redemption of the Roman Catholics depends on themselves. "Brethren, the salva-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

tion of the Church lies in us," was the prophetic cry uttered a few years ago by a group of Italian priests.¹

Thus, by influencing the clergy, Anglicanism would touch and affect the Church. By making the evangelical tendencies and movements, which have been manifested for some time in the case of a considerable number of Roman priests, stronger and stronger, Anglicanism would prepare the way for the spiritual transformation of the Church, and this, in its turn, would be a prelude to the supreme and all-divine ideal of Christian unity.

But the hope for a reunion of Christendom will be only a dream as long as Roman Catholicism remains as it is at present. A previous transformation of it is a "*conditio sine qua non*" of Christian unity. Not until the Papacy will have conformed its conscience to the gospel of Christ will it be capable of finding within itself that spirit of unselfishness and sympathetic understanding which alone can create a sincere and genuine desire for unity. The Papacy, as it is today, asks for submission, not reunion. We have seen that such transformation appears improbable, but it is not an impossibility.

When the renewed conscience of the Roman Catholic Church comes to exert its full pressure upon the hierarchy, the Papacy will be compelled to bring also its conscience into harmony with the teachings of Christ. And when the Papacy will have become more Christ-possessed and Christ-like, then it will stretch forth its arms, in the spirit of love, to the Greek and Anglican Episcopal Churches, and the Anglican Church will then find it a relatively easy task to persuade Protestantism to return to the fold, over which the great "*Shepherd and Bishop of souls*," of whom St. Peter speaks, is to have an undis-

¹From a pamphlet, "*La Salvezza è in noi*," signed by a group of Italian seminarists, October, 1909.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

puted dominion. Then, and not until then, will the ideal of Christian unity become a great and glorious reality.

Great indeed is the opportunity of Anglicanism if it only knows how to avail itself of it. It seems that God has reserved for it an illustrious mission. Its Episcopal heritage, intermediate between the Papal autocracy and the lawlessness of Protestantism; its sober theology, avoiding both the extremes of the unmovable, stereotyped orthodoxy of Greek-Eastern Churches and the strong tendency to exuberance and exaggeration of Roman Catholicism; the world-wide political extension and religious genius of the Anglo-Saxon race—these are forces which will not fail to prove most helpful in the realization of a reunited Christendom. May Anglicanism be found worthy of assisting the great purpose of God for His One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

And may the Almighty God lead the representatives of the various Christian systems to a deeper knowledge and love of His Son Jesus Christ, so that in the light and power of that love, they may realize their past faults and present imperfections and cordially join in the earnest effort toward the advent of a church which shall more truly represent the kingdom of God on earth and be the expression of the will of Him who is full of grace and truth.

Then only, all that is intrinsically defective and weak having been eliminated, the one universal or Catholic Church shall find in the union and harmonization of the world's scattered Christian energies the strength to exert a wider and deeper redeeming influence in the world and hasten the blessed time when the great Head shall, through His mystical body, draw the minds and hearts of all men unto Himself. Amen.

APPENDIX

NOTE 1. Among the so-called "mystic" heresies of the twelfth century, the Waldesian is the only one which still survives in Italy. The heresy rose about the year 1173, in the north of Italy, in the midst of the Cottian Alps. The first champion of it was Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, who, repenting of having practiced usury, renounced all he possessed and gave himself to the evangelical life, that is to say, to the most rigorous poverty. Having gathered around himself many other "poors," he sent them to preach penitence throughout Italy and France, where thousands were converted through their influence.

Waldo, thinking to act as a good Catholic, demanded the approbation of Pope Alexander III, but he failed to obtain it. In 1184 he was condemned by the Council of Verona and anathematized by Pope Lucius III.

Then the Waldesians separated themselves from the Church. Some of them, however, though disavowing the authority of the Catholic priesthood, yet continued to frequent the Catholic churches; others formed a sect of their own, choosing ministers, whom they submitted to extremely rigorous ascetical vows.

The Waldesians, besides charging the clergy with having gone far from the Gospel, denied the divine powers which the Catholic Church attributed to them.

The Waldesian Church went through innumerable vicissitudes. Persecution, exile, death, were the lot of many of its loyal members. During the sixteenth century the Waldesians were absorbed in the general Protestant movement of Europe. By the Constitution of

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

King Charles Albert of Piedmont (1848), they were granted religious toleration, which gradually became absolute freedom.

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NOTE II.

Libertade, e Dio,
Voce dall'Oriente,
Voce dall'Occidente,
Voce dai tuoi deserti,

Voce dall'eco dei sepolcri aperti,
Meretrice t'accusa. Inebriata
Sei del sangue dei Santi, e fornicasti
Con quanti ha re la terra. Ahi'la vedete:
Di porpora è vestit: oro, monili,
Gemme tutte l'aggravano: le bianche
Vesti, delizia del primier marito,
Che or sta nel cielo, ella perdè nel fango.
Però di nomi e bi blasfemi è piena,
E nella fronte sua scrisse: "Mistero."
Ahi, la sua voce a consolar gli afflitti
Non s'ode più: tutti minaccia, e crea
Con perenni anatemi all 'alme incerte,
Ineffabili pene. Gl'infelici,
Qui lo siam tutti, nel comun dolore
Correano ad abbracciarsi, e la crudele
Di Cristo in nome gli ha divisi: i padri
Inimica coi figli, e le consorti
Dai mariti disgiunge, e pon la guerra
Fra unanimi fratelli. E del Vangelo
Interprete crudel: l'odio s'impara
Nel libro dell'amor. Gli anni son volti
Che il rapito di Patmo Evangelista
Ne profetò: per ingannar le genti

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Rotte ha Satanno le catene antiche,
E siede la crudel sulle infinite
Acque del pianto che per lei si versa.
Il seduttor dell'uomo all'impudico
Labbro due nappi appressa: in uno è sangue,
Nell'altro l'oro: e quell-avara e cruda
Beve in entrambi, sì che il mondo ignora
S'ella più d'oro o più di sangue ha sete.

From Niccolini's "Arnaldo da Brescia."—

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NOTE III.

IL CREATORE E IL SUO MONDO

Messer Domeddio, dopo tant'anni
Mosso a pietà dei nostri lunghi affanni
Aperto su nel cielo un finestrino
Fè capolino.

E con un colpo d'occhio da maestro
Scorse il lato sinistro e il lato destro,
Restò confuso e si rivolse a Pietro,
Che aveva di dietro,
E disse: O Pietro! o ch'io non son più Dio,
O che è venuto men l'ingegno mio:
Affacciati e rimira l'universo:

Oh tempo perso'.
E Pietro, messo il capo al finestrino,
Disse: Cos'è, Signor, quel burattino
Che in Roma vedo di gran pompa ornato
E imbavagliato?

E sorridendo a lui disse il Signore:
O Pietro, Pietro, è il tuo gran successore,
Gli han le mani, la testa, i pie legati
I potentati.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

E col filo a vicenda se lo tirano
Lo volgono, lo piegano, lo aggirano:
E il popolo ignorante tutto vede:
Eppur ci crede'.

Ed ei, povero vecchio'la cuccagna
Si gode di far niente, e di sciampagna
Vuotarsi la bottiglia senza spesa:
Povera Chiesa'.

Esclamò Pietro: Ov'è quella primitiva
Semplicità che al mondo si fe viva?
Ov'è quella miseria che provai?
Cangiata è assai'.

E quel ch'è peggio, o Pietro, in nome mio,
Che solo il ben degli uomini desio,
Si vendon gli anatemi e le indulgenze
Dalle Eminenze.

Si lucra nel battesimo e la cresima,
E si guadagna anco nella quaresima,
E poi chi può pagar, per quanto N'odo,
Mangia a suo modo.

Senti quei corvi neri appollaiati,
Che urlando contro gli altrui peccati,
Minacciano mine e distruzioni
Come da padroni'.

E tutto in nome mio che non so niente,
Che felice vorrei tutta la gente:
Ma lor farò veder che non son schiavo'.
E Pietro: Bravo'.

G. GIUSTI.

In the year 1896 Pope Leo XIII, by his bull "Apostolicae Curae" denied the validity of Anglican Orders. It is strange indeed how a pope so clever as Leo XIII could ever put forth a document so full of

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

misleading statements and inaccurate quotations. Moreover, some of the reasons relied upon to disprove the validity of Anglican Orders are equally destructive of Roman ordinations.

The bull was issued under the influence of the Jesuits, and, more especially, Cardinal Mazzella, on whom Leo leaned in regard to questions of formal theology. Many among the best Roman Catholic scholars, having realized the weakness of the bull, insist that the pope was not speaking "ex cathedra," and, therefore, his statement is not infallible.

In reply to the bull of the pope the English archbishops, in the year 1897, composed the "Response of the Arch-Bishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII, on Anglican Ordinations," an admirable document of historical scholarship. All the frivolous papal objections, one by one, were triumphantly refuted. The force of the answer is absolutely crushing. Doubtless when the old Leo read it, he must have realized, with a sense of regret, the great mistake he had made.

Rightly, Dr. A. W. Little, in his "Reasons for Being a Churchman,"¹ likens the papal condemnation of Anglican Orders to the condemnation of Galileo's theory, pronounced by the predecessors of Leo. In the year 1896 historical truth was denied, and in 1615 scientific truth was opposed.

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The validity of Anglican Orders is historically certain. The strongest attack made on such validity is founded on the so-called "Nag's Head Fable," a tale which has been disproved by all the scrupulous scholars of the

¹"The Young Churchman Co." Milwaukee, Wis. 1910.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Roman Communion itself, among whom Lingard, Butler, Thierny, Portal, Duchesne, and others.

The other ground upon which the objections to the apostolic and Catholic consecration of Anglican bishops, under the Edwardine Ordinal of 1552, rest is that the form and intention of the Church had not been observed.

But the English archbishops, in their answer, showed clearly that such form and intention were more carefully observed in the Edwardine Ordinal than even in Roman Catholic Ordinal, or in those of several of the apostolic churches of the East. The form of consecration set forth in the Edwardine Ordinal was as prescribed in the African Canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage and was the very form used in 1414 in the consecration of Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury, and, in 1559, of Archbishop Parker, of the same see.

The evidence concerning the validity of Anglican Orders has been strengthened by two additions lately come to light. These are the forms of ordination contained in the so-called "Canons of Hippolitus" and in the collection of Serapion. The ancient Catholic ordinal for consecration in Serapion is identical with the Edwardine Ordinal, in the particular to which Leo XIII ignorantly took exception.

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"The evidence of the consecration of Archbishop Parker," says the Rev. Dr. Arthur Whipple in the *American Church Monthly* (April, 1917), "is cumulative. There are several telling facts or allegations against the claim to a due and proper record of Parker's elevation to the episcopate. The 'Nag's Head' fable, of course, as every one knows, is admitted without the slightest foundations. And little by little the adverse testimony

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

appears. On the other hand stands a mass of evidence of many kinds: records in Parker's and other episcopal registers; State papers bearing directly and indirectly on the matter; notices in the college annals of Cambridge; the diary of a layman present at the ceremony, made public long after, and entries in Parker's own diary. None of these, by itself, would be conclusive against the allegations to the contrary, but taken with their cumulative force they make the matter of due and proper order incontrovertible."

In regard to Barlow, the principal consecrator of Parker, De Augustinis, the renowned Roman Catholic theologian, says, in his "Conference About Anglican Orders," "Barlow was unquestionably a true bishop."

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Moreover, even if Romanists could show incontrovertibly that Barlow and Parker had no orders, and therefore were incapable of transmitting them, this would not affect the validity of Anglican Orders. In the "Theophilus Americanus," Hugh Davy Evan's learned redaction of Bishop Wordworth's "Theophilus Anglicanus" is set forth the impugnable fact of the Anglican Succession as being independent of the only line that Rome holds in doubt. The statement is as follows: "The Romish bishops whom Queen Elizabeth found in possession of the Irish sees, and of whose valid consecration nobody has ever made any doubt, were not, with two exceptions, deprived of their sees. On the contrary, they conformed to the Reformation, and a line of bishops descending in regular succession from them remains in Ireland to this day. Archbishop Hampton of Armagh, one of this line of bishops, joined on July 7, 1616, in the consecration of Bishop Morton, of Coventry, who,

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

on July 12, 1618, was one of the consecrators of Bishop Carleton of Llandaff, afterwards of Chichester, who, on November 18, 1621, was one of the consecrators of Archbishop Laud. Again, about the same time, Antonio De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, in Italy, abjured the Communion of the Church of Rome, and went to England. On December 14, 1617, he was one of the consecrators of Bishop Felton, of Bristol, and Montaigne, of Lincoln, who were both among the consecrators of Archbishop Laud. From Archbishop Laud, who united the Irish and Italian lines of the episcopate, every bishop of the American, Scottish, and English Church traces his descent."

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There is a further and even stronger argument in favor of the Anglican continuity with the Catholic and apostolic church. It is the unchangeable witness of the Anglican Church to the revealed truth, a witness which none of the churches outside Catholic unity has borne.

Think of the German Protestant Church and its theology! * * * The critical methods of German theological scholarship have been relentlessly rational and the results merely negative. Straus, Baur, and his Tubingen school, Ewald, Harnack, Ritschl, Wellhausen, Bleek, Nitsch, Rothe, Tischendorf, Lipsius and others have been simply obsessed by hypercriticism. Nothing has escaped their mania for destruction. They have attacked the contents of the Gospels as well as the sources, genuineness as well as authenticity, the authorship as well as the data of the inspired books, in brief, they have destroyed the reliability of a great part of the New Testament. Through different methods and processes the aim of German theology has been one: to minimize all

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

the non-natural element in the Scriptures. Under their inexorable analysis every trace of the miraculous has vanished alike from the Gospels and Acts, from the Epistles and the Apocalypse. German criticism has spared none of the miracles, not even the greatest, as the Incarnation, Resurrection, Virgin birth, Ascension.

What a contrast between the Christianity of the German theology and that presented by the theology of the Anglican Church! . . . Certainly the English Church did not hold herself aloof from the religio-intellectual movement of the nineteenth century. Anglicanism contributed very helpfully to the building up of the great monument of exegetical and theological erudition. It would be hard to make an adequate valuation of what the new religious thought owes to the deep and masterly minds of Pusey, Trench, Lightfoot, Hort, Westcott, and others. Think of the multiform activity of Froude, Robertson, Liddon, Keeble, Rose, Palmer, Mozley, Isaac Williams, Hook, Church, Kingsley, Neale, Temple, not to mention those still living.

But the heirs of Hooker, Andrews and Laud reached different conclusions from those of German scholars. Their results have been positive, not negative. Their work has been not destructive, but constructive. They did retain the supernatural element of the Scriptures; they even accented and magnified it. They have been able to reconcile the results of the new criticism with the strictly orthodox doctrines. Those who, like Hare, Stanley, Maurice, Jowett, Tulloch (whose beliefs and teachings have not been sound on every point), have been comparatively few. To the great question once asked of Peter by Jesus, "Whom do men say that I, the son of man, am?" Anglicans have answered, with the same

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

apostle, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God."

How to explain the loyalty of the Anglicans to the faith once delivered to the saints? The reason is one. It is because the Church on which they lean is a true branch of that greater Church which is "the pillar and ground of truth." It is because they hold fast to the divine ideal of that Church which is built "on the foundations of the apostles and the prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief cornerstone." In brief, it is because of the unbroken union of the Anglican Church with the Catholic and Apostolic Church.

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A further indication of the ever-abiding presence of Jesus Christ and His Holy Spirit within the Anglican Church is the vigor of her life. The inexhaustible vitality of the English Church has struck with admiration all students of religious problems, among whom Dollinger, the great Catholic theologian, who wrote of her in these memorable terms: "No Church is so powerful in its influence on national character. The cold, dull indifference which on the continent has spread like a deadly mildew over all degrees of society has no place in the British Isles."

What is the secret of the vigor of the English Church? It is to be found nowhere else but in her unbroken union with that great mystical Body whose Head is Jesus Christ. Let the Jesuit and Ultramontanes sophisticate on the witness of history to the Anglican continuity; here are telling facts. The identification of the Anglican Church with the Church of the Apostles, the Fathers and the Councils is a fact, which only self-interested prejudice and sectarianism can refuse to accept.

The Anglicans know that they are possessed of orders

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

and, consequently, of sacraments. Their spiritual effects demonstrate to them their validity. When the pope denied the validity of Anglican Orders he showed unmistakably that he is not infallible, for he stated what Anglicans know with divine certainty to be false.

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One might add that a witness to the validity of the Anglican Orders has been borne by the history of Roman Catholicism itself. In fact the popes Julius III, Pius IV, Urbanus VIII, Innocent XII, themselves showed, explicitly or implicitly, their faith in Anglican validity. Julius III, for instance, enjoined Archbishop Pole to absolve and reconcile the bishops and priests ordained under Edward VI, but not to re-ordain them.

Again. It is historically certain that, before the seventeenth session of the Council of Trent, the pope sent to England his nuncio, Girolamo Martinengo, with the task of inviting the bishops of the Anglican Church to come and take part in the deliberations of the council, thus making it plain that he considered them as true bishops of the Catholic Church. Later on, when the hopes for a submission of the English Church to his claims had vanished, the pope denied the validity of the consecration of those same bishops.

The Council of Trent itself, when requested by Pius IV (who had felt himself hurt by the firm conduct of Queen Elizabeth) to declare Anglican Orders invalid, positively refused to comply with his desire.

Yet again. Dollinger, doubtless the greatest religious writer of the nineteenth century, expressed emphatically his faith in the Apostolic Succession of the Anglican Church. At the reunion conference, held in Bonn (1874), Dollinger, speaking of Anglican Orders, said: "The solution of the question depends solely on an ex-

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

amination of historical evidence, and I must give it as the result of my investigations that I have no manner of doubt as to the validity of the episcopal succession in the English Church" (p. 50-51).

A great many other eminent Roman Catholics have fully acknowledged Anglican Orders, among them Du Pin, De Gerardin, Beauvois, Courayer, Colbert, Bossuet, Archbishop Affre of Paris, Cardinal De La Luzerne, and several other contemporary theologians.

Furthermore, a great many prelates of the Greek Orthodox and Eastern Churches have recognized Anglican Orders.

Archbishop Nicolai, the celebrated head of the Russian ecclesiastical mission in Japan, fully endorsed the "Vindication of Anglican Orders," by the Rev. Arthur Lowndes. Prof. Androustos, the author of the semi-official booklet, "The Validity of Anglican Orders from the Orthodox Standpoint," has done the same.

As to the Roman Catholic Church, no theologian of any importance today holds the opinion of the Jesuits who influenced Leo XIII. That means that the case can be opened anew. The Roman Church is said to be intending to do so. In January, 1917, Father Aurelio Palmieri, of the Library of Congress, in an unofficial manner, gave out the statement that a new movement has arisen in the Vatican, directed toward a reconciliation of the Russian Church and the Papacy and a reconsideration of the question of the validity of Anglican Ordinations.

"One of the most important tasks of the new commission," Father Palmieri wrote, "will be a thorough re-examination of the arguments, pro and con, of the validity of Anglican Orders. The bull *"Apostolica Sedis"* of Leo XIII has settled in the negative the problem of that validity. But generally, theological schools assume

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

a more favorable attitude toward acknowledgment of the validity of Anglican Orders, and the new commission of cardinals will carefully ponder the reasons set forth by Russian and Anglican divines against the decision of Pope Leo XIII."

Let Roman Catholic theologians examine "thoroughly" the matter, and, doubtless they will reach a conclusion different from that of 1896. Anglicans and Episcopalians rely upon the indestructible facts of history. Being fully conscious of the efficacy of their own orders, they are concerned with the question (in its relation to Rome) only remotely, as the decision may affect the possibility of future union of the churches. The question of the validity of Anglican Ordinations is a part of the larger question of Christian unity. An affirmative decision of Rome, acknowledging the sufficiency of the Anglican rite of ordination, would lessen the distrust of the Anglican body toward Rome and would, most likely, bring union considerably nearer.¹

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¹In connection with the question of the Anglican Orders we beg the reader to consult the following books:

Haddan (Arthur W.): "Apostolic Succession in the Church of England."

Courayer: "The Validity of the Ordinations of the English Church."

Viscount Halifax: "Leo XIII and Anglican Orders."

Puller (F. W.): "The Continuity of the Church of England." "The Edwardine Ordinal."

Bailey: "Defense of English Orders."

Lowndes (Rev. Arthur): "Vindication of Anglican Orders"; 2 volumes.

Crockett (Rev. Stuart): "Roman Acknowledgment of Anglican Orders."

De Augustinis: "Anglican Orders." Conference.

"Anglican Orders": by a Roman priest.

Denny and Lacey: "De Hierarchia Anglicana."

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

MODERN ITALIAN THOUGHT AND CHRISTIAN DOGMA.

NOTES.

IN the second chapter we have considered the religious problem in Italy in its peculiar relation to Roman Catholicism. We deem it useful to add a few remarks on the attitude of the modern Italian thought toward Christian dogma in general, freely drawing from the works of Professor Labanca.

The Italian religious thinkers of the nineteenth century might be divided into four classes: the first being composed of those who are quite averse to the reality of Christian dogma; the second, those devoted to Christian dogma only in a philosophical sense; the third, those who are averse not to dogmas themselves but rather to their excessive quantity; and the last, the Roman Catholic traditionalists.

The first thinkers, who, early in the nineteenth century, advocated dogmatic nullism were Melchiorre Gioia (1767-1829), an illustrious philosopher, statesman, and economist, and Gian Domenico Romagnosi (1761-1835), an equally renowned philosopher and jurist. According to them religion in general and Christianity in particular, is a moral and social habit, which encourages men to virtue by the promise of divine good, both present and future, and keeps them from vice by present and future penalties.¹

A religion which has not such a beneficial aim on behalf of social life is useless and abstract, nay, it is, Ro-

¹Gioia: "Del Merito e Delle Ricompense." Vol. I, pp. 9, 24. Milano. 1818. Romagnosi: "Assunto Primo Della Coscienza del Dritto Naturale." Milano. 1842.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

magnosi says, an "ultra-abstraction," namely "an entirely imaginary product."¹

Gioia classifies religious opinions as useful, indifferent, and harmful, and puts the articles of Christian faith concerning the Trinity, Divinity of Christ, Eucharist, Sacrifice, and Prayer, either among the indifferent or harmful ones. He declares these and similar dogmas, concerning philosophical mysteries, "a food for human curiosity or a cause for human ferocity."²

Gioia speaks of what is not dogmatic in Christianity in a very different way. "Religion," he says, "such as was preached by Christ, tends to increase the amount of social pleasures, preaching fraternal affection and reciprocal tolerance, condemning the hatred and pride of every kind, and keeping alive in the souls of its followers the idea of the same origin, nature, and end."³

Owing to the fact that in Italy the fatal influences of the materialistic and despotic religion of the papal Church have been more strongly felt than anywhere else, Italian poets, philosophers, and politicians, from the Renaissance down to our days, have usually written, instead of the history, the hymn of the first Christian epoch. So did Gioia. In his cited "Idee Sulle Opinioni Religiose" he makes an admirable description of the government of the early Christians and the incomparable peace they enjoyed, while, on the contrary, he is inexorable toward the Christians of the subsequent epochs.

It is to Gioia's credit to have been one of the first to

¹Romagnosi: "Osservazioni sulla Scienza Nuova di Vico." Opere. Vol. II. Ed. Cit.

²Gioia: "Idee Sulle Opinioni Religiose," p. 43-68. Lugano, 1841.

³Gioia: "Del Merito e delle Ricompense," Vol. I, p. 162. Ed. Cit.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

clearly perceive the importance of physical ambient in the explication of many concepts and facts of religion and primitive Christianity.

As to Romagnosi, he does not go into all the details of his contemporary Gioia; but he hits, with a single stroke, the whole Catholic dogmatism, by establishing, in an absolute manner, that the revealed religion must serve as a subsidiary to the natural one, which consists in consecrating and sanctioning by moral precepts, the natural order willed by Divinity.¹ In his judgment the "perpetual dogmas" of religion are: to see, will, and do all good, to hate all evil, to reward all virtue, to punish all crime, even after death." (Ibid.)

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P. Sterbini, a free and independent spirit, demands a Christian religion not according to the dogmatism brought about by the "iniquitous Roman curia," but according to the dictates of philosophy, which studies "the eternal and unchangeable laws of human society." In substance, he wishes a philosophical, not a dogmatic Christianity. He writes further: "The religion of Christ, sanctioned by philosophical science, is the fundamental stone of the new social edifice, and we will build our church upon this stone."

Also, V. Magnanini has no use for a dogmatic Christianity. He distinguishes three classes of dogma, some of which concern the ecclesiastical constitution, some morals, and some others, mysteries. He considers the first and last classes as being in opposition to science and civilization, and calls the latter "useless, harmful," and

¹Romagnosi: "Assunto Primo della Coscienza del Dritto Naturale." Ed. Cit.

²Sterbini: "Filosofia e Religione." Napoli, 1862.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

wishes them to be relegated to a "museum of religious antiquities." The dogmas belonging to the second class ought to be respected, but religion should not be allowed to dogmatize on morals, for, he maintains, science and civilization have, long since, acknowledged moral principles as rational."

Ausonio Franchi made a parody on several Catholic dogmas.² He seemed for a long time to have no faith even in their transformation. He points with distrust and skepticism to J. Salvador, who, in his work, "Paris, Rome, Jerusalem," had attempted to secularize certain capital dogmas as those of the Trinity and Redemption.³ Franchi is, moreover, highly disdainful of Catholic morals, as they were formulated by the casuists and defended by Manzoni,⁴ and greatly admires, on the contrary, the morals of Christ and those priests who, like Christ, show themselves "humble, meek, generous and consecrate their lives to the evangelization and consolation of their brothers."

Franchi, however, retracted his ideas by submitting, late in life, to the papal authority.

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F. Linati, though he professes himself a Catholic, yet complains that "the clergy have shut themselves within the enclosure of a sterile and obsolete dogmatism." He wishes that religion espouse itself to science, and re-

¹Magnanini: "Armonie della Religione con le Scienze e con lo Stato." Bologna. 1877.

²A. Franchi: "Razionalismo del Popolo." Milano, 1873.

³A. Franchi: "Saggi di Critica e Polemica. Questioni Religiose." Milano, 1871.

⁴A. Manzoni: "Sulla Morale Cattolica." Napoli, 1860.

⁵A. Franchi: "La Filosofia delle Scuole Italiane." Firenze, 1863.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

proaches the clergy with "having kept the Holy Books closed." To him morals are everything, both in religion and science. He finds morals expressed in Jesus as well as in nature itself. Baldassarre Labanca echoed Linati, when he wrote: "In these days, so much in need of justice and charity, it is beautiful and salutary for an educated Catholic to abide by the moralist Jesus, rather than by Jesus the Messiah, the Prophet and the Thaumaturgus."¹

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G. Trezza is invincibly prejudiced against all religious sentiment, more particularly the Christian. To him Christianity has always been the opposer of all human welfare, nay, the cause of almost all evil. Accordingly, he maintains that dogmas, precepts, rites, in brief, whatever belongs to Christianity, ought to be done away with. He holds religions to be "psychological displacements, errors of internal optics, psychologic and patho-psychologic phenomena, sacred remains of a buried world."² He condemns the dogmatism of St. Paul as being simply "atrocious."³ As to Christian morals, Trezza feels exceedingly sorry that they will last long and bring further sorrow and shame upon mankind.

Rightly Baldassarre Labanca regards these and similar affirmations of Trezza concerning Christianity as absolutely groundless and erroneous, and charges the author as being as fanatic as the supernaturalists.

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¹B. Labanca: "Della Religione e della Filosofia Cristiana." Torino. Loescher, 1886.

²G. Trezza: "La Religioni e la Religione." Verona, 1884. "La Critica Moderna." Firenze, 1874. "Nuovi Studi Critici." Verona, 1881.

³G. Trezza: "San Paolo." Verona, 1882.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Among the more recent writers, Gaetano Negri, Baldassarre Labanca and Alessandro Chiappelli have strongly disavowed Christian dogmatism.

Negri regards evangelical conception, in its most genuine essence, as abhorring all sacerdotal and dogmatic elements, and, accordingly, he greatly admires the pure, elect and lofty form of religious sentiment of the "Adam Bede" (of George Eliot), "a sentiment which is freed from all dogmatic and ritualistic yoke and goes straight to the Gospel."¹

To him dogmatism is a dead element of Christian religion. Speaking of St. Augustine, who conceives the Catholic Church as an absolute authority possessing the intangible deposit of faith, he remarks: "His formulæ no longer speak to us; life has disappeared from their immense and complicated structures."²

Negri further maintains that it is not the dogmatic teaching, but the principle of scientific knowledge that indirectly, yet necessarily, moralizes society, "for," he writes, "that principle, by destroying error and superstition, which disturb society, and by dissipating the clouds which darken truth, brings about a condition of things from which the principle of justice and human solidarity flows as a necessary consequence."³

Speaking of Roman Catholic dogmatism in its relation to the problem of religious teaching in Italy, Negri, however, pleads not for a destruction of the dogmatic and ritualistic structure (a thing he finds impossible), but for a modern interpretation of Catholic symbols.⁴

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¹G. Negri: "George Eliot." Milano, 1893.

²G. Negri: "Meditazioni Vagabonde." Ed. cit.

³G. Negri: "Ultimi Saggi." Milano, 1904.

⁴G. Negri: "Ultimi Saggi," p. 230. Milano. Hoepli, 1904.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

As to Prof. Labanca, he also, as Negri, reproaches St. Paul for his dogmatism. He holds that religions will always last only in virtue of their natural elements. "The supernatural," he writes, "is dead for science and historical criticism, and it is only alive for ignorant humanity and for those educated men who are still obsequious to the mystical and ascetic world."¹

To the Hegelians, interpreting Christian dogmatism in the light of absolute idealism, Labanca objects that "if, in virtue of the canons of Hegelian idealism infantile and immediate thought must be overcome and annulled by reflexive and mediate thought, then philosophy ought, accordingly, not to respect religious dogmas, but rather abolish them, as being a vulgar and childish thought."²

Labanca attacks also Kant and his followers, who attribute to Christian dogmas only a moral significance, maintaining that "the principal dogmas of Christianity, as the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ, the resurrection of Jesus and of the dead, have lost forever all moral value and power."³

Prof. Labanca is further in full disagreement with Kerbaker and all those philosophers who state that Christian dogmas ought to be respected as a salutary, nay, necessary delusion for the ignorant people. "We must deny history," he says, "to maintain that Christianity may last by means of delusions concerning absurd dogmas. Today dogmatic Christianity is dead for history which is truly such. I admit that it was a delusion which prepared and formed all Christian dogmas; yet it was an efficacious and fecund delusion; whereas the actual de-

¹B. Labanca in "La Cultura," edited by Bonghi, 1884.

²B. Labanca: "Il Cristianesimo Primitivo." Ed. cit.

³B. Labanca: "Il Cristianesimo Primitivo," page 403. Ed. cit.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

lusion, by which dogmas ought to be kept, is inefficacious and sterile. What today is alive, nay, powerful, is only ethic Christianity, which intelligent men can still maintain and defend."¹

Finally Labanca turns his sharp criticism against Roman Catholic traditionalists, who hold dogma to be unchangeable. "If," he remarks, "to the theologians of the papal Church dogmas are intrinsically immutable and superintelligible, then their extrinsic progress becomes only apparent, and, still worse, inconclusive. Having been born of a mystical faith, it is logical that they should remain an object of mystical faith, according to several fathers and doctors. To me they are definitions of quite absurd mysteries and miraculous facts; and I think that Catholics should resign themselves to believe the absurd (*credo quia absurdum*) without aggravating the evil, by insisting on the progress of the absurd. Let me add that today is no longer the time of "*fides quaerens intellectum*," but of "*intellectus quaerens fidem*," that is that we want a faith which follows from what has been clearly understood through its intrinsic truth and goodness. Long since human intelligence has declared its adherence to a blind faith impossible; for such adherence is only pardonable, but never reasonable, and, moreover, pardonable by exceptional way, in a vulgar and ignorant people. Blind faith must remain such as long as it is efficacious, even though it be absurd. But when it is no longer efficacious, we must expect its gradual annulment by science, which studies its moral pathology, helped mainly by the critical history of religions."

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¹B. Labanca: "Il Cristianesimo Primitivo." Ed. cit.

²B. Labanca: "Il Cristianesimo Primitivo," pp. 407-408.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Prof. Alessandro Chiappelli, a strong sympathizer with the school of Harnack, is even more bitter against Christian dogmatism. Never is he so eloquent as when he contrasts to the theocratic phariseism the new doctrine of Jesus "without dogmas and without priests."¹

Also Leone Caetani is strong in condemning Christian dogmas, which he declares to be doomed in time to disappear. He maintains that dogmas, as well as sacerdotal mediatorship and ritualistic ties were once necessary to human society even as monarchical despotism. But, as human society develops, also religious conceptions mature and tend more and more strongly toward purely individualistic and subjective forms. The religion of the future will cease to be an adhesion to certain dogmatic formulæ, and become essentially a high moral discipline.²

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The radicalism of Negri, Labanca, Chiappelli, and others has been avoided by Raffaele Mariano. Against Paul Sabatier, holding that dogmatic formulæ, theological doctrines and confessions of faith are foreign to Christianity, nay, a sickly excrescence of it, Mariano strongly maintains that the same dogmas are "organic grafts of Christian faith and an integrating part of it." According to him the terroristic fury of Harnack, Pfleiderer, and other liberal Protestants of Germany against dogmatic and ecclesiastical religion, is destructive of the objective content of Christianity. It dissolves, he says,

¹A. Chiappelli: "Nuove Pagine sul Cristianesimo Antico." Firenze. 1902.

²Leone Caetani: "La Crisi Morale Dell: Ora Presente." Roma. 1911.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Christianity into a mere personal inclination or disposition and a vaporous religious sentimentality.

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With regard to the philosophical devotees of Christian dogmas, some, as B. Spaventa,² A. Vera³ and F. Fiorentino⁴ have reduced them to rational propositions. The followers of Hegel, convinced that philosophy must become science, art, and religion, and also that Hegelianism is the last word of human thought, have applied to Christian dogmatism the method of absolute idealism. It is known that the attempt at seeing, through dogmatic symbols, rational principles is as old as agnosticism and was repeated during the Middle Ages by Abelard and others. The Hegelians agree in holding that Christian dogmas belong to an infantile and immediate faith; nevertheless they hold that by means of philosophy, they may assume a universal and indestructible value.

Besides the above mentioned, also A. C. De Meis, a man of a remarkable skill, embraced Hegelian doctrine, thus causing Christian dogma to acquire a new life in philosophy.⁵

Even Pasquale D'Ercole seems to have approached the same doctrine.⁶ Finally Raffaele Mariano, the devoted

¹R. Mari no: "Il Cristianesimo Nei Primi Secoli." Firenze. Barbera, 1902.

²B. Spaventa: "Saggi di Critica Filosofica, Politica e Religiosa." Napoli. 1867.

³A. Vera: "Philos. de la Religion de Hegel." Paris, 1876.

⁴F. Fiorentino: "Scritti Varii." Napoli. 1876. "La Filosofia Contemporanea." Napoli, 1876.

⁵A. C. De Meis: "Dopo la Laurea," 2 volumes. Bologna, 1869.

⁶P. D'Ercole: "Il Teismo Filosofico Cristiano." Torino. 1884.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

disciple of Vera, concerned himself with Christian dogmatism in its relation to absolute idealism.¹

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Among the thinkers favorable to a philosophical interpretation of Christian dogma are also C. Cantoni, M. Kerbaker and F. Cartolano, the first of whom accepted Christian dogmas, reducing their authoritative symbolism, after the method of Kant, to a quite moral significance.² The second wishes Christianity, with all its dogmas, to be respected, as being a salutary and necessary delusion for the popular classes.³ He has further expressed the wish that religious movement be studied in relation to the contemporary philology, which, he says, "is no longer either that of the Renaissance, which concerned itself exclusively with classicism, or that of the Reformation, which limited itself to the Bible; but it is both at the same time, with the addition of the philological researches concerning the Eastern world. Only through such method dogmas, rites and moral principles, which constitute the soul of religion, can be understood."⁴

In regard to Cartolano, Prof. Labanca remarks that he has greatly exaggerated the value of philology in its relation to Christian dogma. Doubtless, he says, philology is a very great help in the historical study of religion, as Max Muller and other illustrious foreign scholars have clearly shown. Yet it would be a grievous mistake not to search, first of all, events in their physical

¹R. Mariano: "Cristianesimo, Cattolicesimo e Civiltà." Bologna, 1879.

²C. Cantoni: "Emmanuele Kant," 3 volumes. Milano. 1884.

³M. Kerbaker: "La Scienza Delle Religioni." Napoli, 1882.

⁴M. Kerbaker: "La Scienza Delle Religioni in Italia." Torino, 1878.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

and metaphysical elements, which assisted the foundation and propagation of religions.

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The religious thinkers, belonging to the third class, either do not tolerate the uselessness of Christian dogmas, or, more frequently, do not accept their extreme multiplicity.

Bertini, for instance, wishes the number of Christian dogmas to be reduced. By his convincing criticism he proves a great many dogmas to be superfluous. He further remarks that Jesus did not come upon the earth to inaugurate a course of dogmatic theology, but to teach men to love each other and to forbear one another.¹

The illustrious statesman, Minghetti, although less rigorous in his logic than Bertini, yet has shown a considerable persuasiveness. Even to him Christian dogmas are too numerous. Putting aside all theoretic questions, he practically would like to enthrone more simple dogmas, and, particularly, the most efficacious of them, namely, charity, through which Christianity has transformed the world.²

A decrease of dogmatism has been advocated also by the philosopher, Terenzio Mamiani. Like Bertini and Minghetti he, at times, shows himself disposed to abolish all Christian dogmas, especially those of theoretical and abstract nature, as the Trinity, Divinity of Jesus Christ, Resurrection, last judgment, and like. Religion to Mamiani is the perception and adoration of the "holy."³ The adoration of the holy consists principally in the practice of virtue, especially charity and universal justice. He

¹Bertini: "Il Vaticano e lo Stato." Napoli, 1878.

²Minghetti: "Stato e Chiesa." Milano, 1878.

³Mamiani: "La Religione dell'Avvenire." Milano, 1880.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

further adds that we must believe also the dogmas revealed by the intuition of the holy, which was very deep in Jesus; but religious dogmas, which Mamiani limits to twelve, are all rational and moral propositions, not supernatural.¹

Labanca² praises the mentioned Bertini, Minghetti and Mamiani for having revealed, in their writings, an independence of papalism; but he remarks that they, before ascertaining and consolidating the primitive as well as the successive historical facts of Christian religion, wished to establish in an abstract and absolute manner its nature. Accordingly, he regards their books rather philosophical than theological.

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Among those theologians who have resolutely demanded a reduction of Christian dogmas is G. B. Savarese, the founder of an independent Catholic Church in Italy. Previously he had accepted all the dogmas of the Roman Church.³ But later on he refused the dogmas concerning papal autocracy.⁴ His ideas were embraced by Cicchitti Suriani.⁵

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¹T. Mamiani: "Critica Della Rivelazione: Lettere al Bertini," pp. 6-18. Torino, 1873. "Critica Della Rivelazione," pp. 86-90. Milano, 1880. "Sul Concetto Della Religione." Bologna, 1869. "Teoria Della Religione e Dello Stato." Firenze, 1869. "Del Papato" (a posthumous work). Milano, 1885.

²B. Labanca: "Il Cristianesimo Primitivo." Ed. cit.

³G. B. Savarese: "Introduzione Alla Storia Critica Della Filosofia Dei S. Padri."

⁴G. B. Savarese: "Idea Cristiana Della Ragione Politica." Napoli, 1857. Napoli, 1881. "La Chiesa e la Democrazia." Roma. 1882. "La Scomunica di un'Idea." Roma, 1884.

⁵Cicchitti-Suriani: "La Religione Nella Scienza e la Tirannia Della Coscienza." Roma, 1885.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Other Italian writers, led by theological principles, have shown themselves favorable to Christian dogmas, wishing them to be kept in their traditional Catholic meaning. To such number belonged Rosmini and Gioberti. Both wrote with respect about Christian dogmatism. But it is to be remarked that Rosmini (a man with a vigorous mind and wide knowledge), rarely in his religious works concerns himself with Christian dogmas. He is steady and zealous in recommending Christianity for the sake of its indispensable disciplinary reforms and lofty moral sentiments.¹

Gioberti does, more or less, the same. He wishes a Christian reform, but not in the dogmas, which he declares immutable.² Against the Jesuits he points to an intrinsic as well as extrinsic immutability of the dogmas, the latter consisting in their progressive unfolding. Here and there, however, Gioberti hints at a successive restriction of the exuberant Christian dogmatism.³

The same theological doctrine was respected in Italy during the second half of the last century, by other Catholics, as Manzoni,⁴ Balbo,⁵ Tosti,⁶ Ventura,⁷ Sanseverino,⁸

¹Rosmini: "Della Educazione Cristiana." Venezia, 1823. "Ascetica." Milano, 1840. "Apologetica." Napoli, 1844. "Le Cinque Piaghe Della S. Chiesa." Perugia, 1849. "Epistole Religiose," 2 volumes. Torino, 1857. "Operette Spirituali." Intra. 1871. "Catechismo Cristiano." Bertolotti. 7th ed. 1877. "Antropologia Soprannaturale," 3 volumes. Torino, 1884.

²Gioberti: "Della Riforma Cattolica." Torino, 1855.

³Gioberti: "Della Riforma Cattolica." Ed. cit., p. 127.

⁴Manzoni: "Sulla Morale Cattolica." Torino, 1839.

⁵Balbo: "Meditazioni Storiche." Napoli, 1843.

⁶Tosti: "Storia del Concilio di Costanza." Napoli. 1853. "Storia Della Origine Dello Scisma Greco." Firenze. 1856. "Storia di Bonifacio viii e Dei Suoi Tempi." Roma, 1888. "Prolegomeni Alla Storia Universale Della Chiesa." Firenze, 1861.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

Cosacco,⁹ Audisio,¹⁰ Raineri,¹¹ Occioni,¹² Capecepatro,¹³ Fornari,¹⁴ Orosio,¹⁵ Stoppani,¹⁶ Paganini,¹⁷ Mazzella,¹⁸ Tagliaferri.¹⁹

The doctrine of the immutability of dogma has been strongly maintained also by Passaglia,²⁰ Perrone,²¹ Liber-

⁹Ventura: "La Ragione Filosofica e la Ragione Cattolica." Milano, 1853. "Le Bellezze Della Fede." Firenze, 1853. "Il Tesoro Nascosto." Firenze, 1853.

⁸Sanseverino: "Phil. Christ. cum Ant. et Nova Comp." Napoli, 1868.

⁹Cosacco: "Della Influenza Religiosa Nei Vari Secoli Della Chiesa." Udine, 1842.

¹⁰Audisio: "Introduzione Agli Studi Ecclesiastici." Torino, 1847. "Storia Religiosa e Civile Dei Papi," 5 volumes. Roma, 1864-1868. "Della Societa Politica e Religiosa." Firenze, 1876.

¹¹Raineri: "Corso di Istruzioni Catechistiche," 7 volumes. Milano, 1850.

¹²Occioni: "Della Filosofia Cattolica: Saggio Storico." Venezia, 1860.

¹³Capecepatro: "La Vita di Gesu Cristo," 2 volumes. Napoli, 1868. "Gladstone e Gli Effetti Dei Decreti." Napoli, 1874.

¹⁴Fornari: "Della Vita di Gesu Cristo," 4 volumes. Firenze, 1869-1877.

¹⁵Orosio: "Gesu Cristo" (Studi storici), 2 volumes. Milano, 1878.

¹⁶Stoppani: "Il Dogma e le Scienze Positive." Milano, 1884.

¹⁷Paganini: "Armonie Della Filosofia Naturale Colla Filos. Sopran." 2d ed. Pisa, 1885.

¹⁸Mazzella: "De Gratia Christi." Roma, 1880.

¹⁹Tagliaferri: "Il Filosofo e il Dogmatismo Religioso" (in the "Saggi di Critica Filosofica e Religiosa"), 2 volumes. Firenze, 1882.

²⁰Passaglia: "On Eternal Punishment." Renan's "Vie de Jesus: a Critique."

²¹Perrone: "Il Protestantismo e la Regola di Fede." Milano, 1854.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

atore, Romano, Cornoldi,¹ Curci,² Zigliara and the other neo-scholastics.

The Roman Catholic interpretation of dogma has been kept, more recently, by historians, philosophers and apologists as Cantù, Savio, Castellari, Rossignoli, Conti,³ D. V. Palmieri, Polidori,⁴ P. Ballerini,⁵ G. Bellino,⁶ N. Turchi;⁷ by Catholic sociologists as Meda,⁸ Crispolti⁹ Mauri, Toniolo, Pavissich, and by writers of the collection "Scienza e Religione." (Descle. Roma.)

Other contemporary writers, as Bonomelli,¹⁰ Gazzola, Genocchi, De Augustinis, Semeria, A. Palmieri (an authority on Oriental and Russian ecclesiastical matters), though abiding by the traditional doctrine, yet have not been on the whole, entirely out of sympathy with a more liberal interpretation of it.

Raffaele Mariano, Baldassarre Labanca and Alessandro Chiappelli agree in charging these and the other Italian traditionalists with the fact that they have, very largely, kept themselves aloof from the great modern movement of religious thought and ignored, more or less, a really

¹Cornoldi: "Lezioni di Filosofia Scolastica." Ferrara, 1875.

²Curci: "Il Moderno Dissido tra la Chiesa e lo Stato." Firenze, 1878.

³Conti: "Storia Della Filosofia." Barbera. Firenze.

⁴Polidori: "Corso di Religione." Roma. 1902. "La Nuova Apologia del Cristianesimo." Roma, 1905.

⁵Ballerini: "La Crisi del Pensiero Moderno e le Basi Della Fede." Roma, 1907.

⁶Bellino: "Gesù Cristo Nelle Scritture, nei SS. Padri e nei Dottori." Torino, 1912.

⁷Turchi: "Manuale di Storia Delle Religioni." Torino, 1912.

⁸Meda: "Nella Storia e Nella Vita." Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1903.

⁹Crispolti: "Questioni Vitali." F. Pustet. Roma, 1908.

¹⁰Bishop G. Bonomelli: "Questioni Religiose, Morali e Sociali." Roma. Desclee, 1897.

Protestantism and the Latin Soul

objective and constructive historical criticism of religion and Christianity. The papal system and the Index have prevented them from becoming acquainted with the most plausible and sure results of Protestant exegesis. They are still dominated by the old conception of the direct and mechanical Scriptural inspiration, discarded by all the greatest modern biblical scholars.

Moreover, their exegesis diverges from the hierarchial standpoint of the papal Church, which accounts for the fact that their theses are preconceived and destitute of historical foundations.

Prof. Labanca affirms that Roman Catholic traditionalists, beginning with Gioberti down to Capececiattolo, Fornari, Conti and the other contemporaries are orators and poets rather than historians and philosophers of religion. Speaking of Curci, Stoppani, Audisio and other neo-scholastics, he says that their excellent traditional sense damages historical reality.

Labanca finds a striking instance of the unscientific method of reasoning employed by most of Roman Catholic writers and apologists in the Jesuit father, D. V. Palmieri, who makes the following remark in regard to papal supremacy: "Both the historian and the scientist wish to explain the primacy of Rome; but they, having put aside the unique principle which explains it, dream of light and frivolous hypotheses. A Catholic who believes finds at once the explanation of it." "Thus," Prof. Labanca notes, "Father Palmieri regards the enormous critical work done by modern scholarship as a light and frivolous thing. . . . To him the explanation of religious facts is to be found not in reason and history, but in faith.

¹D. V. Palmieri: "Osservazioni Sulla Recente Opera: L'evangelio et l'Aglise : par Alfred Loisy," p. 54. Roma, 1903.

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